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HISTORY OF THE MAHRATTAS

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Mahrattas

Rise in Power

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History of Mahrattas

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It was, therefore, of importance to the British government to secure the alliance of Nizam Ally and the Mahrattas, and it became a primary object to induce Sindia to return to Hindostan, both from the centrical situation his brigades occupied in the Deccan, and from his known desire to obstruct the influence of the British with the Peishwa, over whom it was his policy to perpetuate his own ascendancy.

The reported designs of Zuman Shah, king of Cabul, and grand-son of Ahmed Shah Abdallee, a name terrible to Mahrattas, were strongly set forth by the British agents, in order to induce Sindia to return for the protection of his dominions in Hindostan; whilst to the Peishwa was offered a body of the company's troops for the protection of his person and authority and the revival of the energies of his government. Bajee Rao had shortly before made an application to the British of a nature similar to this arrangement, but at that period, both their policy and the operation of the Act of Parliament prevented their complying with his request. The sudden desire now evinced by the English to grant him a subsidiary force, their frequent recommendations to reinstate Nana Furnuwees in the ministry, and to remove Sindia from Poona, led Bajee Rao, whose views and information were bounded by very narrow limits, to suppose that the whole was a scheme of the detested Nana, the object most dreaded, and therefore uppermost in his mind.

Accordingly, although Sindia had declared his intention of endeavouring to return to Hindostan,

and a public visit of ceremony announced the reconciliation which had taken place between Sindia and Nana Furnuwees on the one part, and Bajee Rao on the other, the Peishwa shortly afterwards, in a secret conference with Sindia, urged his stay at Poona for the purpose of preventing the introduction of the English by Nana Furnuwees; but he was at the same moment doing all in his power to conciliate Nana, and was pressing him to quit Sindia's camp for the purpose of resuming the duties of administration. Nana accordingly returned once more to the city of Poona, but declined interfering with the Peishwa's affairs, until the safety of his person and property should be guaranteed by the British government and Nizam Ally, and until he could effect a reconciliation in Sindia's family to enable him to return to Hindostan. To forward the latter object, he laboured to bring about an accommodation, and in hopes of expediting Sindia's march, advanced him 15 lakhs of rupees from his private treasury, in addition to the 10 lakhs before paid at the time of his liberation.

Perceiving that Sindia was really serious in his proposal of returning to Hindostan, Bajee Rao intimated his intention of paying Nana Furnuwees a secret visit, and in disguise, so that it might not come to Sindia's knowledge. In the middle of the night, attended by a single domestic, he repaired to Nana's house, and for the time succeeded in deceiving the old minister into a belief of his being wholly unconcerned in his seizure and disgrace, and that he confined the other ministers in the vain hope of affording them protection

from the violence [illegible]acity of Sindia's agents. Colonel Palmer, the British resident, was of opinion that Nana Furnuwees was never deceived by him, but the fact is proved by the result; and, indeed, the eloquence and manner of Bajee Rao are so powerful and insinuating, that he had deceived most men even when on their guard against him. On this occasion, perceiving the effect his language produced, he laid his head at the feet of Nana Furnuwees, swore by those feet* to consider him as his father, to abide by his counsel in all his future measures, and finally, in a burst of tears, conjured and entreated that he would not abandon the Brahmin sovereignty, assailed, as it then was, by the factions of the Mahrattas and the ambition of the English.

In consequence of this appeal Nana Furnuwees resumed the duties of minister, without those securities for which he had at first so
October 15. prudently stipulated; but scarcely had he begun the transaction of public business, when he was informed by Jeswunt Rao Ghorepuray† that Bajee Rao was again
A.D. 1799. endeavouring to persuade Sindia to confine him—intelligence which was

* To swear by the feet of a Bramin is one of the most sacred and solemn of Hindoo oaths.

† This person, who came into Sindia's confidence, whose name has already appeared, and whom we shall have occasion to notice repeatedly, was of the family of the great Suntajee Ghorepuray, so conspicuous in the days of Aurungzebe, and a decendant of Moorar Rao Ghorepuray of Gooty, so often mentioned by Orme.

confirmed by Sindia Nana instantly repaired to the palace; taxed the Peishwa with his unparalleled duplicity; begged that he would no longer plot against the life and freedom of an old man, borne down by years, infirmity; and misfortune, but permit him to retire to some spot far from courts and camps, where his being suffered to exist could never interfere with any plans his highness might form. He abjured the desire of now possessing power on his own account, and declared that he had only accepted it in hopes of being still useful. Bajee Rao positively denied having been accessory to a proceeding so treacherous, and begged that those who had used his name might be apprehended. Sindia immediately siezed the Peishwa's minister Govind Rao Kallay, and Sewram Narain Thuthay, the agents employed; but as it is a point of honor amongst Mahrattas never to divulge the name of their principal on such occasions, they bore the loss of their liberty and property without impeaching the veracity of their master, and Sewram Narain Thuthay soon after died.

Satisfaction being thus afforded, Nana Furnuwees resumed the office of prime minister; but his suspicions were not removed, and he avoided all interference in business not absolutely necessary.

The period, however, was extremely important; Nizam Ally had concluded a new treaty with the English on the 1st September 1798, by which he agreed to receive no Frenchman into his service, to dismiss his French officers, and disband the whole of the infantry lately commanded by

Raymond,* recei ... ned heir stead six battalions of English sepoys, each battalion 1,000 strong, with a proportion of European artillery, for which he agreed to pay an annual subsidy of 24,17,100 rupees. The English government also became bound, by an article cautiously expressed, to mediate between Nizam Ally and the Peishwa, and, in case of differences arising between them, to use every endeavour to induce the Peishwa to accede to a friendly arbitration.

The Mahrattas naturally viewed this treaty with much jealousy, and the Peishwa, on being urged by the British agent to conclude a similar one, evaded the subject by an assurance that he would faithfully execute the conditions of subsisting engagements, and, on the prospect of a war with Tippoo, promised to afford his aid. In these replies Bajee Rao had followed the opinion and advice of Nana Furnuwees, but had neither sincerity nor steadiness to fulfil the engagements alluded to, though assured by Nana that any departure from good faith must equally affect the honor and security of his government. Nana Furnuwees recommended that Appa Sahib, the son of Pureshram Bhow, should be appointed to command the contingent intended to co-operate with the English; and in the present exigency proposed to assemble it, by collecting the force under Dhondoo Punt Gokla, sur-soobehdar of the Carnatic, the troops of Rastia and Vinchorkur, and all the horse which the Bramin jagheerdars could raise. The necessities of the state, and the presence of Sindia, precluded the Peishwa from

* Raymond died March 25th, 1798.

recruiting his own arm ... aching any part of it from Poona.

Appa Sahib refused the command, but the offer having led to a reconciliation between Pureshram Bhow and Nana, the Bhow agreed to head the contingent himself, on condition of having his fine remitted, and receiving Dharwar, with several places in the Carnatic, in jagheer. An English detachment, similar to that formerly employed, and under the command of the same officer, was held in readiness to join Pureshram Bhow; but these endeavours on the part of Nana Furnuwees were frustrated by Bajee Rao who acted under the influence of Doulat Rao Sindia. After the English had commenced hostilities against Tippoo, his envoys were publicly received at Poona, although repeated remonstrances were made on the subject by the British resident. Even after their formal dismissal was intimated to Colonel Palmer, on the 19th March, they only retired to Kirwee, a village 25 miles south of Poona. Colonel Palmer at first supposed that the detention of the wukeels was a mere repetition of the former plan of obtaining a sum of money, on a false pretence of neutrality or aid. The British resident knew that Bajee Rao had received 13 lakhs of rupees from Tippoo, to which Sindia was privy, but it was not known at that time to Nana Furnuwees; and when the governor-general noticed the conduct of the court of Poona, by simply countermanding the detachment which had been prepared to accompany Pureshram Bhow, Nana Furnuwees could not comprehend the reason.

Bajee Rao imagined that, by the concessions made to Pureshram Bhow on the one hand, and the encouragement given to Tippoo on the other, he should deceive both parties, and postpone his ultimate decision, until circumstances enabled him to judge on which side it would be most advantageous to range himself. As far, however, as he was capable of following any plan, his resolution was taken in favour of Tippoo. In concert with Sindia, a scheme was laid to attack Nizam Ally, in which they hoped to engage Rughoojee Bhonslay, and as the English would, as a matter of course, defend the Moghul territory, in consequence of their late treaty, the Peishwa was then to declare the Mahrattas the allies of Tippoo Sultan. Marquis Wellesley, apprized of those views, was, on the other hand, endeavouring to engage Rughoojee Bhonslay as a party to the treaty concluded with Nizam Ally.

But before the Peishwa or Sindia had the slightest conception that Tippoo's downfall was so near, they were astonished by intelligence of the capture of Seringapatam, the death of Tippoo, and the subversion of his government.

Bajee Rao affected the utmost joy, and soon after endeavoured to persuade Colonel Palmer that the failure of his engagement was entirely attributable to Nana Furnuwees. Immediate orders were sent to Dhondoo Punt Gokla, sur-soobehdar of the Carnatic, to advance into Tippoo's country with what force he could collect. The consequence was that many villages were plundered after the country had submitted to the British Government; and the only merit which Dhondoo

Punt's party could claim was that of intercepting Dhoondia Waug, a marauding fugitive from Seringapatam, whom Dhondoo Punt attacked by surprise, dispersed his followers; after which Dhoondia entered the service of the Raja of Kolapoor, who was actively engaged in hostilities against the Peishwa, and who readily received him into his army.

Sindia, on the news of Tippoo's overthrow, despatched emissaries to Seringapatam for the purpose of encouraging resistance among the partizans of the late Sultan who might yet remain; but he also sent abundant congratulations to the English resident at Poona, expressive of his happiness at the glorious termination of the war.

The judgment and energy by which the power of Tippoo was so speedily reduced, may be considered one of the first examples of that energetic policy by which Great Britain, in her subsequent mighty struggles in Europe, has been distinguished.

The resources of Nizam Ally's government had been placed at the disposal of Marquis Wellesley, and the services of his contingent had been directed with far greater efficiency than in the former war—an improvement justly ascribed to the ability and exertion of the governor-general's political agent, Captain Malcolm.*

The mode of dividing the conquered provinces was dictated by a wise and liberal spirit. Nizam Ally, with judicious confidence, had left the

* Now Sir John Malcolm.

arrangements to Marquis Wellesley, who effected them in the following manner.

As it was deemed incompatible with the future tranquillity of the country, and the security of the company's possessions, to establish a son of Tippoo in sovereignty, the descendant of those rajas of Mysore, from whom Hyder Ally usurped the government, was released from captivity, and raised to the musnud of his ancestors. A partition treaty was then concluded by the British Government, Nizam Ally, and the restored raja.

June 22.

The whole of Tippoo's revenue being estimated at 30,40,000 pagodas :—

To the raja was assigned, pagodas	13,60,000
To Nizam Ally	5,30,000
To the Company	5,37,000
For the maintenance of the families of Hyder and Tippoo, in charge of the British Government ...	2,40,000
For the maintenance of Kummur-ud-deen Khan and his family, in charge of Nizam Ally ...	70,000
Pagodas ...	27,37,000

Notwithstanding the Peishwa's total failure in the engagements, the governor-general deemed it politic to allow him some share in the conquered territory, provided he could be brought to accede to an alliance corresponding to that formed with Nizam Ally. With this view, the balance in the territory adjoining the Peishwa's southern

boundary, yielding an annual revenue of pagodas 2,63,000, was reserved, and was offered on the above conditions to the Peishwa.

Much discussion took place in consequence: the court of Poona was unwilling, by a distinct refusal, to afford the allies a pretext for at once appropriating the territory reserved, in which case two-thirds of it were to be given to Nizam Ally, and the rest retained by the Company.

In a great part of the negotiation which took place, it is easy to perceive the ability of Nana Furnuwees. In extenuation of the circumstances which had caused the disappointment and dissatisfaction of the allies, the Peishwa represented the unfortunate distractions of the empire which had prevented him from assembling an army, and the usage of native states in permitting wukeels to reside in their courts in time of war. To the preliminary conditions requiring the Mahrattas to abstain from all aggressions on the territory of the Raja of Mysore, the Peishwa replied that, upon obtaining the proposed cession, it should be considered an equivalent for the chouth, to which the Mahrattas were entitled from the whole of the territories of the late Sultan. In case the French invaded India, the Peishwa engaged to unite with the English in repelling them; but he would not agree to exclude individuals of that nation from his service. He offered to subsidize two battalions, provided they might be employed to assist in reducing refractory tributaries, and the Seedee of Jinjeera; but he absolutely refused the company's mediation in

the existing difference between the Mahrattas and Nizam Ally respecting the chouth. To an application for exchanging the chouth of Surat for an equivalent revenue—a measure in itself calculated to obviate vexatious disputes and loss—a like peremptory refusal was given; and a proposal for including Rughoojee Bhonslay as a principal in the intended alliance, the Peishwa treated as absurd. Finally, after protracted discussion, the reserved territory was shared by Nizam Ally and the British government, as stipulated in the treaty, and, on the 12th of October 1800, a new treaty was concluded between them, by which the British government engaged to protect the territories of Nizam Ally from unprovoked aggression; two battalions of native infantry were added to the former six battalions, together with a regiment of native cavalry; and for the payment of the whole force, the territories acquired by Nizam Ally, on the partition of the provinces of Mysore, both in 1792 and 1799, were ceded in perpetuity to the British government.

The affairs of Sindia during this period continued in a very distracted state. After the treacherous attack made by Shirzee Rao Ghatgay on Amrut Rao's camp, the Byes fled to the raja of Kolapoor, who was still at war with the Peishwa. The Byes were soon joined by Narain Rao Bukhshee, and the principal Shenwee Bramins from Sindia's camp. Large bodies of horse flocked to their standard, and, when sufficiently strong, they returned to the northward, plundering every

village from the Kistna to the Godavery which acknowledged the authority of Doulut Rao Sindia,* and not only insulted Sindia Feby. in his lines, but stopped the roads in the vicinity of Poona. Sindia's horse at first attempted to oppose them, but their numbers were so inferior that, after a few skirmishes, in which they suffered severely, they would not advance unsupported by the regular battalions, before which the troops of the Byes retired, but as soon as the battalions returned towards their own camp, the insurgents also faced about and followed them. There is, perhaps, no parallel example of such an extraordinary state of affairs as that which the Peishwa's territory presented at this period, where a rebellion against one prince was maintained within the territory of another whom both parties acknowledged as their sovereign. The anarchy which it engendered may be conceived; the whole country suddenly swarmed with horsemen, and although plunder was not indiscriminate, great devastations were committed. The flame spread in Hindostan; Lukwa Dada, a Shenwee Bramin already mentioned, second in importance to the confined minister Balloba Tattya, by whom Lukwa Dada had been first raised, having been suspected of disaffection in consequence of his attachment to Balloba, was deprived of power, and dismissed from his employments. Being thus driven into

* Numerous villages belonging to one chief are frequently found intermixed with those of another in the Mahratta country, the reason of which has been already explained and accounted for.

the ranks of the insurgents, he soon raised a powerful army, repeatedly defeated the troops sent against him, and reduced the country from Oojein to Seronje.

To add these troubles, Jeswunt Rao Holkar, who, after his brother fell at Poona, had fled to Nagpoor, and was there confined through the influence of Sindia, having effected his escape, repaired to Malwa, collected followers, and plundered the country. M. Perron had succeeded to the command of Sindia's regular infantry on the departure of M. de Boigne, who was compelled from ill-health to return to Europe in 1796; but Perron, at the period we have arrived, was so fully occupied in the siege of Agra, held by the adherents of Lukwa Dada, and in which he was assisted by Ambajee Inglia, that he found it impossible to stop the disorders in Malwa without additional troops, for which he sent repeated and earnest applications to his master in the Deccan.

Under these circumstances, Sindia had again recourse to negotiation; but the demands of the Byes extended to nothing less than complete sovereignty, which they required Sindia to hold under their authority; and before even these conditions could be admitted, they insisted on the release of Balloba Tattya.

Sindia's new ministers, Abba Chitnees and Ryajee Patell, with a judgment and a disinterestedness which do them honor, recommended their master to reinstate Balloba as prime minister, to which Sindia agreed, and no sooner was the arrangement accomplished, than it produced an

immediate effect in detaching the principal leaders from the insurrection. The Byes agreed to an adjustment through Balloba's mediation; and the fort of Asseergurh with the city of Burhanpoor, and a jagheer of 11 lakhs of rupees, were to be assigned to them. Lukwa Dada, in consequence of the restoration of Balloba, had an interview with the brother of Ambajee Inglia, who had been opposed to him in Malwa, and agreed to a cessation of arms. Every difference was on the point of being settled, the Byes had received their clothes, jewels, and other private property from Sindia's camp, and had come as far as Rajawaree, near Jejoory, on their way to Poona, when one of their partizans having been attacked and cut off, they immediately returned towards Punderpoor, and recommenced their system of depredation.

The whole of the southern Mahratta country was in great disorder. The raja of Kolapoor still waged war with the Peishwa, and the reinforcement brought by Chittoor Sing, after the defeat of the raja of Satara, gave a new spirit to his efforts. Chittoor Sing had been closely pursued into the territory of the raja of Kolapoor by a dody of Rastia's troops, joined by some others on the part of the Pritee Needhee, the whole of whom encamped near the Warnah river. Five hundred horse of the troops who had been dispersed at Satara having got together, apprized Chittoor Sing of their situation, and by his direction concealed themselves for some days in the hills, until he had got a reinforcement from Kolapoor, when, by

a well concerted attack upon the troops who had pursued him, he cut them off almost to a man. A body of Pureshram Bhow's troops were shortly afterwards in a like manner surprised and routed; and Chittoor Sing, having learnt that, after Pureshram Bhow's departure from Satara, 2,000 or 3,000 of Rastia's troops with some guns were encamped in the neighbourhood of the fort, he vowed to avenge the disgrace sustained by the first defeat. Accordingly he led 600 infantry through the hills and valleys until opposite to the village of Pal, where he remained concealed until night, when, repairing to a celebrated temple in the village, he performed the usual worship, and the whole party, having solemnly invoked the diety, stained their clothes with yellow dye, rubbed their hands and faces with turmeric, and issued forth, thus fortified with the implied vow of conquest or death, to attack their enemy. They did not find Rastia's troops unprepared; but the latter had only time to fire a few rounds, when they were furiously charged sword in hand, their guns taken and destroyed, and the whole body dispersed in a few minutes. A rapid march to the banks of the Warnah, before his retreat could be intercepted, marked a prudence, as well a enterprize, which gained Chittoor Sing considerable credit with the Mahratta soldiery, and his numbers were in a few months considerably increased. At the head of a very inferior force, and with no funds to support it, he kept 7,000 of Rastia's troops in perpetual motion between the Neera and Warnah. He was, however, frequently defeated; and on

one occasion, when accompanied by only 500 men,* he was surrounded by 5,000 of Rastia's troops, but cut his way through them, although with the loss of more than half his party. His enterprize, his remarkable escapes, his conciliatory manners, the popularity of his cause amongst Mahrattas, and his confidence in the peasantry, rendered him everywhere a favourite, notwithstanding his having repeatedly laid the whole of the villages under contribution.

Chittoor Sing's insurrection was considered at Poona as a part of the Kolapoor war, and both the Peishwa and Nana Furnuwees had their share of blame in exciting it.

During the insurrection of Satara, and afterwards, whilst Chittoor Sing kept Rastia in check to the north of the Warnah, the Raja of Kolapoor was actively employed against the Putwurdhuns, and Dhondoo Punt Gokla. Tasgaom, the capital of Pureshram Bhow's jagheer, was pillaged, and his palace, which had been erected at great expense, was burnt to the ground. The Carnatic was laid under contribution, and Dhondoo Punt Gokla, though a brave and active officer, was repeatedly defeated. Such was the state of the Kolapoor warfare up to the period at which we have arrived.

In the month of August, after Balloba Tattya's release, a reconciliation having taken place between him and Nana Furnuwees, they deliberated with the knowledge and approbation of their

* It is not mentioned whether horse or foot.

superiors, on the course of policy necessary to be pursued with regard to Nizam Ally and the English; but both concurred in the necessity of suppressing the formidable disturbance to the southward, as a preliminary to any other arrangement.

It was accordingly resolved that the force, previously intended by Nana Furnuwees to have co-operated with the allies against Tippoo, should be sent, under Pureshram Bhow, considerably reinforced for the present service. The whole, to be furnished in proportions by the Peishwa and by Sindia and other jagheerdars, was to consist of 30,000 horse and 6,000 infantry; but, as it was impracticable to prepare this force until the Dussera, Pureshram Bhow was directed to watch the Raja of Kolapoor, and restrain him as much as possible. Pureshram Bhow, whose military spirit was on this occasion excited by personal injury and personal pique, although his health was in a declining state, kept the field all the rains, and recovered the garrisons between the rivers Gutpurba and Malpurba. In the month of September he advanced from Gokauk towards Kolapoor, not without hopes of finishing the war himself; but near the village of Putunkoondee he encountered the Raja of Kolapoor and Chittoor Sing, when he experienced a total defeat, and was himself mortally wounded and made prisoner*

* Wiswas Rao, the brother of Shirzee Rao Ghatgay, took up the dying man, and, laying him across his horse, threw him down before the Raja of Kolapoor, who ordered him, it is said, when in this state, to be cut in pieces. Dajeeba Limmay, who was in the action, states this circumstance; and Bajee Rao, in a particular

Nana Furnuwees and Balloba sent the troops of the Vinchorkur, the Pritee Needhee, and five of Sindia's regular battalions under Major Brownrigg, to support Appa Sahib, Pureshram Bhow's son, and reduce the raja to submission.

This accession of force was too great for the Raja of Kolapoor to withstand, and he therefore retired under protection of the Fort of Panalla. But, in that situation, his troops were surprised by Appa Sahib, who drove some of them into the fort, whilst the greater part sought refuge in Kolapoor, which the Peishwa's troops invested, and after a siege of considerable duration A.D. 1800. had nearly reduced it, when events and revolutions at Poona interfered to save the Kolapoor state, which would otherwise, in all probability, have been subverted, or at least held in future as a dependancy on the Peishwa's government.

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conversation with Mr. Elphinstone at Punderpoor in 1812, mentioned it as a well-known fact, but it is not generally believed at Kolapoor, nor at Satara, where the Raja of Kolapoor had many enemies.

Dajeeba Limmay, whose name I have mentioned above, was a confidential agent of Pureshram Bhow; he was employed in several high situations during the administration of Nana Furnuwees, and was a sharer in many of the revolutions and events which I am now recording. At my request, he had the goodness to write the history of his own times, and I take this opportunity of expressing my acknowledgment.

CHAPTER X.

FROM A.D. 1800 TO A.D. 1802.

Death and character of Nana Furnuwees—fresh dispute between Sindia and the Peishwa.—Balloba Tattya's confinement and death—dreadful executions of Dhondeba and Narain Rao Bukhshee.—The Peishwa's plans for ruining the adherents of Nana Furnuwees and the family of Pureshram Bhow.—Sindia, on being promised the jagheer of the Putwurdhuns, sends a force into their districts.—Great disorders—insurrection of Dhoondia Waug—suppressed by a detachment of British troops.—State of affairs at Poona.—Bajee Rao's situation and views—critical state of Sindia's affairs in Malwa.—Rise and progress of Jeswunt Rao Holkar—Umeer Khan joins him—Jeswunt Rao recognized in Malwa as the representative of his nephew Khundee Rao.—Imbecility of Sindia's proceedings.—Sindia induces Holkar to attack the Byes.—Marches towards Hindostan.—Holkar cuts off two of Sindia's detachments—is repulsed by Major Brownrigg.—Events at Poona—execution of Wittoojee Holkar.—Sirzee Rao Ghatgay defeats a plot against him in a singular manner—he is ordered to join Sindia—defeats Jeswunt Rao Holkar at Indore, which he plunders.—Sindia injudiciously gives Holkar time to recover himself.—Jeswunt Rao carries the war into the Deccan—his successes there—Sewdasheo Bhow Bhaskur sent to oppose him.—The Peishwa's conduct.—Battle of Poona—Holkar is victorious.—The Peishwa flees to Singurh—and sends to the British resident a preliminary engagement, binding himself to receive a subsidiary force.—The resident's interview with Holkar.—The Peishwa proceeds to Bassein.—Affairs in Guzerat.

A. D. 1800.

THE first of the events alluded to in point of time and importance was the death of Nana Furnuwees. His health has long been in a declining state; but he continued to transact business, almost to the last, with his accustomed order and punctuality.

he also supported his widow in her desire to adopt a son, both because it was in opposition to Bajee Rao's wish, and because it afforded the easiest means of getting the family and treasures into his own power. But these disputes did not prevent their plotting against others; and Sindia, whose re-establishment of Balloba Tattya to power had disarmed the insurrection of Lukwa Dada, now determined on Balloba's destruction. To this measure he was advised by his father-in-law, who had been set at liberty in the month of January at the recommendation of Balloba, and had regained entire influence over Sindia's mind, of which the first use he made was to stir up a faction against the minister, and then to excite Sindia to his destruction, and that of his immediate adherents. He was accordingly seized and imprisoned at Ahmednugur, where a natural death interposed to save him from a cruel execution. But his brother Dhondeba and Narain Rao Bukhshee, confined at the same time, were both condemned to suffer; the former, in a manner comparatively humane, was blown from a cannon; but the latter was barbarously destroyed by being tied round with rockets, which, being fired, carried him along, mangling his body dreadfully—the invention and spot of the execrable Ghatgay.

One of the ruling passions of the Peishwa was implacable revenge; and he having connived at the destruction of the Shenwee Bramins, Sindia, in return, agreed to assist him in the ruin of the friends and adherents of Nana, and the family of the late Pureshram Bhow Putwurdhun. To

accomplish the former object, the Peishwa pretending to renounce the objection to the adoption of a son by the widow of Nana, indirectly encouraged the proceeding; and at last, in order to ensnare Nana's friends, invited them to a meeting at his palace, for the express purpose of deliberating on the subject. When assembled, he suddenly accused them of treasonable practices, of plotting against him, and of intending to place the adopted son of Nana's widow on the musnud. He concluded by seizing and sending them off prisoners to hill forts. In regard to the latter object, of crushing the Putwurdhun family, Sindia the more readily acquiesced in it, as he had long wished to possess himself of their extensive and fertile jagheer. It was this plot which prevented the capture of Kolapoor; as Appa Sahib, having received timely intelligence of their plan, quitted the siege, and with his own followers, accompanied by Dhondoo Punt Gokla, retired into the Carnatic. The Raja of Kolapoor, through the influence of Shirzee Rao Ghatgay, to whom he was reconciled, became the immediate ally of Sindia, whose battalions, under the orders of Seedojee Rao Nimbalkur, the dessaye of Nepanee, proceeded to attack the jagheer of the late Pureshram Bhow; Major Brownrigg, with the battalions, were soon recalled: but Seedojee Rao, at the head of a body of horse, plundered and devastated the country from Merich to Beejapoor.

Disorders were everywhere prevalent. Dhoondia Waug, whom we have already mentioned as having entered the service of the Raja of Kolapoor, separated from him, returned into the Carnatic,

and plundered in the Company's lately acquired districts; taking advantage also of the absence of Gokla's troops, he laid the Peishwa's districts in the Carnatic under contribution, and committed great ravages. The British Government made application to the Peishwa, and obtained permission to pursue and destroy the marauder; but in the meantime, on the return of Dhondoo Punt Gokla to the Carnatic, Dhoondia Waug, who burned with revenge, vowed, with singular ferocity, to sacrifice his life, or dye his mustachios in the heart's blood of Dhondoo Punt. On hearing, therefore, of his approach, he laid an ambush in a wood, and watching an opportunity, when Dhondoo Punt was separated from the main body of his followers, attacked and killed him, when he literally fulfilled his vow. Several persons fell with Dhondoo Punt, among whom was his elder nephew; his younger nephew, Bappoo Gokla, whom we shall hereafter have frequently occasion to mention, lost an eye; Chintamun Rao Putwurdhun was also wounded, and the whole of their party were driven to seek refuge at Hullyhal, where they were kindly welcomed and protected by a British detachment then in that garrison.*

The British troops sent in pursuit of Dhoondia Waug were under the command of Major-General the Honourable Arthur Wellesley, who, on entering the Carnatic, was joined by Gunput Rao Phansay, Bappoo Gokla, and the Putwurdhuns. These Mahratta auxiliaries were of little service; but

* Mahratta MSS.

the British detachment, after a preserving pursuit, had at last the satisfaction of coming up with Dhoondia at the village of Kondagul. His party, consisting of about 5,000 horse, was immediately attacked, routed, and dispersed. Dhoondia exerted himself with spirit at the head of such men as stood by him, until he was cut down in a charge by the 10th Dragoons.

September 10.

Sindia was much dissatisfied at the permission granted to the British Government of sending troops into the Mahratta territory. His control over the Peishwa was now complete, and fearing that Bajee Rao intended to fly, he for sometime kept a guard over his palace. The Peishwa found that his condition was by no means improved by the death of Nana Furnuwees, and, from the situation in which he was so long placed we cannot be surprised that his natural disposition to intrigue should have become incurably habitual. He had much confidence, even at this period, in his own wisdom for extricating himself from the thraldom of Sindia. To that chieftain, even when experiencing indignity from him, Bajee Rao was profuse in this acknowledgments, and pretended to entertain for him the most unbounded gratitude and affection. When it appeared probable that Sindia would be compelled to retire to Hindostan for the protection of his dominions, the Peishwa entreated his stay, and even threw obstacles in the way of his departure; but he saw, with secret joy, the increasing predatory power of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, as affording a prospect by which he hoped to be

enabled to establish his own authority, without the interposition of a foreign power. He was, however, conscious of his own unpopularity as a son of Rugoba; he was anxious to keep well with the British Government, and really had a partiality for the English, though he rather chose to depend on Sindia, than to adopt, by calling in their aid, a course which he could not retrace. The establishment of an English subsidiary force was, it is true, in many respects consonant to his disposition: protection and support against his own subjects, could such have been obtained unfettered by control, being the end at which he aimed; and if the proposal had been met in the first instance, or afterwards allowed to come from himself, he would have had recourse to that plan at an earlier period. But the haste with which Marquis Wellesley expected his agents to push on his system, evinced an anxiety which retarded his object at Poona, where the resident prognosticated that it would never be accomplished until Bajee Rao had found that all his own schemes were fallacious.

Sindia's affairs in Malwa at length became in the highest degree critical. Jeswunt Rao Holkar's energy and success threatened the entire subjugation of that province, a great part of which he had already pillaged and laid waste. The rise of this predatory chieftain was singularly rapid. After his escape from Nagpoor, he fled to Dhar, where he was kindly received by Annund Rao Powar; but as soon as Sindia heard of his retreat, Annund Rao being unable to shelter him from the power of that chief, he furnished him

with a few horses and a little money, with which slender commencement, by enterprize and pillage, he soon collected a band of marauders, and united to his fortunes Umeer Khan, a Patan adventurer, at the head of a well-mounted body of his countrymen, and who, by his abilities and predatory habits, was a fit auxiliary for the schemes which Holkar meditated.

Khassee Rao Holkar, according to the first declaration of the party who opposed him, was set aside from incapacity. Jeswunt Rao being illegitimate, gave himself out as the subordinate agent of his nephew Khundee Rao, in custody at Poona, and invited all adherents of the house of Holkar to unite with him in upholding the name, and rescuing the territories and family from the power of Doulut Rao Sindia. Proceeding to the banks of the Nurbuddah, he levied contributions, and plundered Sindia's villages. A detachment of Khassee Rao's regular infantry, sent against him by the Chevalier Dudrenec, was defeated, which greatly raised Jeswunt Rao's reputation, and brought on a negotiation, which ended in Dudrenec's joining him with his battalions and guns, and in Jeswunt Rao's being recognized and obeyed as the representative of his nephew, which, shortly after, enabled him to commence regular payments to his troops. But the predatory system being the mode of warfare he followed, the work of pillage and destruction went forward, and Sindia's territory in Malwa was half ruined before he had taken any steps to stop the formidable progrees of Jeswunt Rao.*

* Sir John Malcolm.

The cause of this military imbecility on the part of Sindia was the state of parties at his durbar. To impede Holkar's career, threats and conciliation were successively resorted to by Doulut Rao's ministers, and Jeswunt Rao, on promise of being supported by Sindia against Khassee Rao, agreed to seize the Byes, to whom he had before proffered friendship. He accordingly attacked their troops, forced the ladies into Burhanpoor, where he besieged them, but they were so fortunate as to escape towards Meywar, through the aid of Juggoo Bappoo, the colleague of Lukwa Dada. Sindia supposed that, in permitting them to get off, Holkar had acted with double treachery, so that, whether the supposition was well or ill-founded, this action was deservedly of no advantage to Jeswunt Rao. Sindia now became convinced that his presence was absolutely necessary to the northward, and in the end of November quitted the Peishwa's territory, where he left five battalions of regular infantry and 10,000 horse under Shirzee Rao Ghatgay, having, before he set out exacted from the Peishwa bills to the amount of 47 lakhs of rupees.* Sindia's progrees was tardy, and Jeswunt Rao continued to plunder and levy contributions throughout Malwa. Hearing of Sindia's great army Holkar called in his detachments, and concentrated his force in the neighbourhood of Oojein, with an intention of plundering it. During this

A.D. 1801.

* Twenty-five by bills on Poona bankers, ten by a bill on the Gaekwar, and twelve by an assignment on Bundelcund. Mahratta MSS. Colonel Palmer's despatches.

period there was a pause in their hostilities, and Sindia, in hopes of ensuring the protection of his capital, detached for that purpose four battalions from his own camp at Burhanpoor under Colonel John Hessing. Two battalions and six companies under Captain M'Intyre were ordered on to support Hessing; but Holkar, who saw that it was impossible to avoid extremities, and of the highest importance to strike a successful blow at the outset, first made a show of opposing Hessing, and drew him under the walls of Oojein, where, leaving some troops to amuse him, he pushed on to cut off the detachment under M'Intyre, in which he succeeded, having compelled them to lay down their arms at Newree. With his troops thus encouraged, he returned to the more arduous attack of Hessing, and a most obstinate contest was

June.

maintained by that officer until his men were completely overpowered. Of 11 European officers in Hessing's four battalions, most of whom were British, seven were killed, and three were made prisoners. Hessing alone escaped, and four-fifths of his corps are said to have been killed and wounded.*

Having exacted a very heavy contribution from Oojein, Holkar next proceeded to attack Sindia's grand park of artillery which had passed the Nerbuddah, and, under the protection of the four battalions of Major Brownrigg and a body of horse, was awaiting the junction of

July.

the army from Burhanpoor. Brownrigg, on hearing of Holkar's approach, chose

* Ferdinand Lewis Smith.

a very strong position, which he defended with such judgment and intrepidity that Holkar's utmost efforts were unavailing.*

This defence, as it checked Holkar's career, was of the greatest importance to Sindia, who had all this time remained inactive at Burhanpoor; but he now used every exertion to get his army sent across the Nerbuddah, in which he was much assisted by Rughoojee Bhonslay.†

Events were in the meantime occurring at Poona which require notice, as some of them were a good deal influenced by news from the northward. Bajee Rao, on Sindia's departure, instead of endeavouring to conciliate parties, evinced a malignant spirit of revenge towards all the great families whom he suspected of ever having been the political opponents of himself or his father. To distress and pillage all such of them as fell into his power, was, from first to last, a favourite object of his policy. The respectable family of Rastia was among the earliest who experienced his malevolence. Mahdoo Rao Rastia was invited on a friendly visit to the Peishwa's palace, seized, and hurried off as a prisoner to Raigurh. The unpopularity of this deed was proportionate to its treachery and injustice, many instances, though of a less conspicuous nature, occurred; the

* In this action Dewajee Gokla, an officer of rank, Lieutenant Rowbotham, and 300 men were killed on the part of Sindia; Holkar's loss was three times that number.

† Ferdinand Lewis Smith, Bombay Records, and Sir John Malcolm.

minds of his subjects were alienated, and distrust and disaffection towards Bajee Rao's power and government became almost universal. Anarchy was spreading in the country. Bodies of insurgent horse were plundering in various directions. One party under Bal Kishen Gungadhur was defeated by Gunput Rao Phansay; and Wittoojee Holkar, the brother of Jeswunt Rao, who was concerned with him, and April 1. taken prisoner, was barbarously and ignominiously executed at Poona. That the Peishwa had a right to inflict the punishment of death on subjects so taken in arms cannot be doubted, but insurrection and plundering are not rigidly viewed among Mahrattas, and in public opinion a more lenient sentence than loss of life ought to have been passed upon the son of Tookajee Holkar; that circumstance, however, operated differently on the mind of the Peishwa, who could not forget that he was the son of the friend of Nana Furnuwees. Having seated himself with his favourite Ballajee Koonjur at a window which overlooked the exterior court of his palace, Wittoojee Holkar was brought before the Peishwa, and there tied to the foot of an elephant; in vain did he offer up the humblest supplications for life and mercy; the execution went forward; Bajee Rao sat a composed spectator, and heard the yells of the unhappy malefactor as the animal dragged him forth from the palace yard, to a lingering death, as in his case it happened to be, in the public street.*

* Mahratta MSS., oral information, and Palmer's despatches.

Bajee Rao, by this cruel proceeding, at once glutted his revenge and performed an acceptable piece of courtesy to Sindia; but Jeswunt Rao, who loved his brother, vowed vengeance on those whom he considered his murderers; and his threats, being soon followed by news of his success against Hessing, communicated an alarm to the conscious and cowardly mind of the Peishwa, which towards Holkar he could never afterwards conquer. He now, however, opened a negotiation with him, offering to recognize him as the heir of Tookajee Holkar, on condition of his giving up the territories of the family in the Deccan estimated at 25 lakhs of rupees of annual revenue. He was also encouraged, by the prospect of Sindia's being long occupied in the north, to devise means of ridding his country of the presence of Shirzee Rao Ghatgay, who only increased the trouble and disorders, to prevent which was the pretext for his being left in the Deccan. After plundering to the southward he repaired to Poona with a small party, where he became importunate in his demands for money, sat in dhurna on the favourite Ballajee Koonjur, and insulted the whole of the Peishwa's court. At last Koonjur, on pretence of giving him some orders on bankers, invited him to his house, received him graciously, and shortly after got up as if to bring the bills agreed upon. His quitting the room was to be, in reality, the signal for seizing or murdering Ghatgay, but the latter, guessing his intention, instantly grasped his throat with one hand, drew his sword with the other, and in this manner

dragged him to the street, where, springing on his horse, he galloped off to join his party, pursued his route to his army, brought the whole to Poona, and encamped within a mile of the city, which he threatend to plunder and burn. Messages full of conciliatory explanation were sent by Bajee Rao, but the mediation of the British resident became necessary to prevent extremities. The accounts, however, of Sindia's reverses in Malwa, and his express desire that Shirzee Rao should join him immediately to assume command of the army against Holkar, effectually rid the Peishwa of this turbulent and audacious man.

Having joined the army after it had crossed the Nerbuddah, Shirzee Rao was sent forward with 10,000 horse, and 14 battalions under Colonel Sutherland, to avenge the plunder of Oojein by retaliating on Indore, the capital of Holkar. Jeswunt Rao advanced to its protection with some regular battalions, but without European officers, 5,000 irregular infantry, and about 25,000 horse. Skirmishes of some days' duration terminated in a well concerted but ill-executed October 14. attack on the part of Holkar, and a signal defeat was the consequence. He lost 98 pieces of cannon, and his capital was completely plundered. The remorseless Ghatgay had here a full opportunity of indulging his disposition to violence, which he fully gratified in dreadful acts of wanton and barbarous cruelty.

Had Sindia followed up the blow, the power of Jeswunt Rao was by this victory annihilated; but supposing him to be completely humbled, and being advised to recognize him as guardian

to the head of the Holkar family, Sindia made proposals to that effect, and even sent Khassee Rao from his camp, who was thus compelled to seek an asylum in that of his half-brother. But Jeswunt Rao, whether suspicious of Sindia, encouraged by the Peishwa, or led on by an enterprizing confidence in his own fortune, was immoderate in his demands; and although become, since his defeat, dependant entirely on plunder, his adventurous spirit was attractive to the soldiery, amongst whom he had a very high reputation, and many of Sindia's troops deserted to him, even at this stage of his career. But Dudrenec, conceiving it prudent to withdraw from a falling cause, listened to overtures from Sindia, which his battalions, more faithful than their commander, having discovered, went off in a body, and joined Jeswunt Rao at Jowud. Holkar now adopted a new plan, and determined on carrying the war into the Deccan. With this view Futih Sing Manay was detached with a body of horse to ravage the Peishwa's districts; the regular infantry took up a position at Mohesir, whilst Jeswunt Rao in person, in order to veil his intentions, went off to the northward with the remainder of his followers, to plunder in Malwa and Rajpootana, in hopes of drawing Sindia's forces after him, and thus facilitating his future design. He acquired very considerable booty, but Sindia did not pursue him as he expected, a detachment only having been sent after him. Holkar might therefore have been induced to reap a larger harvest in pillage, but the Peishwa, having seized his

A. D. 1802.

districts in Candeish, he was hurried into the Deccan for their recovery. Previous, however, to his arrival, an advanced body of his troops attacked the Peishwa's general, Dhondoo Punt Ghorebulay, defeated him, and re-took the districts.

As soon as Jeswunt Rao was joined by his infantry from Mohesir, he assailed Sindia's possessions in Candeish, which he plundered and devastated without mercy, declaring at the same time that he was about to proceed to Poona to claim the interference of the Peishwa in protecting him, as the agent of the head of the Holkar family, against the tyrannical usurpation of Doulut Rao.

Notwithstanding this appeal to the Peishwa, Futih Sing Manay showed no respect to his territory, but swept the villages on the banks of the Godavery by contribution and plunder; whilst Shah Ahmed Khan, another officer detached by Jeswunt Rao, carried his ravages still nearer the Peishwa's capital, and being opposed by Nursing Kundee Rao, the jagheerdar of Vinchoor, at the head of 1,500 horse, the latter were cut off almost to a man.

The consternation at Poona was great in consequence, and Bajee Rao renewed his negotiations with the British government, desiring the aid of a force, but objecting to its being stationed within his own territory; neither would he consent to the articles of the treaty of Mhar, nor the arbitration of the British government in the Mahratta claims on Nizam Ally.

Sindia, supported by Rughoojee Bhonslay,

exerted his utmost influence to obstruct the conclusion of any arrangement with the British Government, with which he was himself negotiating, not with any intention of becoming a party to the defensive alliance, against which both the raja of Berar and Sindia always maintained a strenuous opposition, but merely to gain a certain degree of consequence, which the presence of the British envoy in his camp was at that time likely to create, in the mind of the Peishwa.

It is difficult to account for the inactivity of Sindia in the prosecution of the war against Holkar. Doulut Rao became about this period suspicious of Perron, but the death of Lukwa Dada, and a final arrangement concluded with the Byes by Ambajee Inglia, one of Sindia's principal officers, left him nothing to apprehend in Hindostan which should have prevented his following up Holkar. After much delay, he at last ordered Sewdasheo Bhow Bhaskur to march against Jeswunt Rao with a large body of cavalry, and 10 battalions of infantry under Captain Dawes. This force forded the Nerbuddah without impediment; but, on their arrival at Burhanpoor, the troops refused to advance without payment of all their arrears, and before these could be settled, the Taptee was so swollen that they could not cross. Jeswunt Rao at first moved as if to give them battle on the southern bank; but if such was his intention, he soon abandoned it, and again moved towards Poona. The Peishwa tried by every means to prevent this advance, desired him to state his demands, and promised

to arbitrate all differences if he would remain to the northward of the Godavery. "My brother Wittoojee," replied Jeswunt Rao, "is dead; he cannot be restored to me; but let Khundee Rao, my nephew, be released, and let the family possessions be given up." To these conditions Bajee Rao appeared to assent, and assured Holkar he had sent an order for the release of Khundee Rao; but instead of which he begged of Sewdasheo Bhow Bhaskur to take advantage of the negotiation, and advance with all speed, while Khundee Rao was thrown into prison in the fort of Asseergurh.

Shortly afterwards a body of the Peishwa's troops under Pandoojee Koonjur attempted to oppose Futih Singh Manay at Gardoon, but were defeated with loss; Manay followed up his victory by attacking the Peishwa's camp at Baramuttee, where he routed Nana Poorundhuree and Gunput Rao Phansay, taking the whole of the artillery. The southern jagheerdars, particularly the Putwurdhuns, who had evinced considerable discontent towards the Peishwa since the treacherous seizure of Rastia, might have prevented or avenged this loss, but except Chintamun Rao, none of the Putwurdhuns joined the Peishwa's standard at this period, and that chief took the first opportunity of quitting it.

Sewdasheo Bhow Bhaskur at the head of Sindia's forces having passed Holkar's army, advanced by Jaulna and Bheer towards Poona, and having formed a junction with the Peishwa's troops, the united armies prepared to oppose Holkar, at the Ally Beylah pass, on which he

was marching ; but Holkar, aware of the strength of their position, made a circuit to the eastward, passed Ahmednugur, proceeded towards Jejoory, formed a junction with Futih Sing Manay, descended the Rajwaree pass and on the 23rd October encamped in the neighbourhood of Poona, between Lonee and Harupseer. The opposing army had returned from Ally Beylah about eight days before, and occupied a position nearer the city, and in the vicinity of the present cantonment of the British troops. Two days were spent in negotiation. The Peishwa demanded Holkar's reason for thus advancing in a hostile manner to his capital, and ordered him to retire. The latter professed his readiness to obey every order from the Peishwa when he was not under the control of Sindia, but that Sindia had disobeyed the Peishwa's orders, had rendered the confinement of Khundee Rao doubly severe, and had sent his army to prevent that mediation which the Peishwa had promised; that Sindia therefore was the real rebel, and he would soon oblige him to submit to the sovereign authority of the Peishwa.

October 23.

The armies drew out for battle on the morning of the 25th October. Holkar had 14 battalions—six under Colonel Vickers, four under Major Harding, and four under Major Armstrong: 5,000 irregular infantry, and 25,000 horse. Although Sindia's infantry was in every respect much inferior to that of Holkar, Sewdasheo Bhow Bhaskur did not decline the contest, to

October 25.

which he was strongly urged by Captain Dewes. His cavalry and irregular infantry, including those belonging to the Peishwa, were, in point of numbers, at least equal to those of Holkar. The action began at half-past nine o'clock by a brisk cannonade, which continued with little interruption for two hours and a half. A body of Holkar's Patan cavalry made a successful charge on the horse of jagheerdar of Vinchoor, but Futih Singh Manay, in a like attempt on the Peishwa's Hoojrat Pagah (or horse on the personal establishment), was repulsed with very considerable loss. Sindia's cavalry followed up the advantage, and those of Holkar were on the point of discomfiture, when Holkar himself, who had taken his station in the rear, sprang on his horse, and calling to those near him, "now or never to follow Jeswunt Rao," rallied the fugitives, and collected a compact body of his best horse, with which he met and repulsed those of Sindia.

In the meantime six of Sindia's battalions, which were without European officers, and opposed to those of Holkar under Vickers, had given way. The remaining four, however, being of the old battalions of De Boigne, though with only four European officers to head them, behaved with great intrepidity. They stood their ground with remarkable firmness and discipline; but Holkar, having driven off the cavalry, charged the infantry, cut down the artillerymen at their guns, killed three of the European officers of the battalions, and took the fourth prisoner; still these battalions fought on, till they were

completely overpowered by the persevering and desperate efforts of Holkar, who headed his cavalry in charge after charge, and at length bore all before him. A complete victory was the reward of the uncommon energy displayed by Jeswunt Rao on this memorable occasion. The whole of Sindia's guns, baggage, and stores fell into his hands, and the army of his rival was driven off the field. Holkar's troops were ordered to fall back, and not to enter the town, but many of them showing no inclination to obey, he compelled them to desist by turning his own guns upon them.

The Peishwa, not doubting of success, had quitted his palace with an idea of joining in the action: but the noise of the firing frightened him, and he turned off to the southward of the town to await the result. On ascertaining the fate of the battle, he fled with about 7,000 followers to the fort of Singurh, and despatched to Colonel Close, the British resident, a priliminary engagement, binding himself to subsidize six battalions of sepoys, and to cede 25 lakhs of rupees of annual revenue for their support. In the course of the previous negotiation he had conceded that point which regarded their being stationed within his own dominions.

Towards the close of the action the cavalry of the contending armies were very near the British residency. Colonel Close had taken the precaution of hoisting the British flag in the most conspicuous parts about the Sungum, which had the effect of ensuring the respect of both parties.

Holkar sent an invitation to the resident to

come and see him on the following day, which Colonel Close did not think it prudent to decline. He found the conqueror in a small tent, ankle deep in mud, wounded by a spear, and, with a sabre cut in the head, which last he received from an artilleryman in one of the charges. In his conversation he was polite and frank, spoke lightly of his wounds, and expressed himself in the most friendly manner towards the resident and the British government. He seemed extremely desirous of obtaining the mediation of the resident in settling with Sindia and the Peishwa, and solicited Colonel Close, whom he detained about a month at Poona, to arbitrate in the existing differences.

For a short time after his victory, Holkar assumed an appearance of great moderation; he placed guards for the protection of the city, treated all the dependants of the Peishwa with kindness, and used many vain endeavours to induce him to return to his palace. Bajee Rao remained for three days at Singurh, and then hastily retired to Raigurh, where he released Mahdoo Rao Rastia, till then confined in that fortress, restored his jagheer, and gave him a commission to raise men for his service.

Quitting Raigurh, the Peishwa proceeded to Mhar, whence he despatched letters to the Bombay government, requesting that ships might be sent to convey him and his followers to that island. Before a reply was sent to that communication, Khundee Rao Rastia, the sur-soobehdar of Bassein, had joined Bajee Rao at Mhar; but on hearing of the approach of Holkar's troops, who were

sent in pursuit of him, the Peishwa repaired to Severndroog, where he resided for some time, under protection of that fort, until again alarmed by accounts of Umeer Khan's being in the neighbourhood, he crossed over to Rewadunda, and thence embarking in an English ship provided for his reception, he proceeded, accompanied by Khundee Rao Rastia, where he landed 6th December.

Previous to entering on the events at Poona, and the articles of provision of the treaty of Bassein, or its important consequences, it is necessary to explain the state of affairs in Guzerat, and the immediate causes which led to the connection, still subsisting, between the Gaekwar and the English; leaving their definitive treaty of 1805, and all subsequent settlements, to be explained in their natural order.

CHAPTER XI.

FROM A.D. 1793 TO A.D. 1803.

Affairs of Baroda.—War between Govind Rao Gaekwar and Aba Shelookur.—The English depose the Nabob of Surat—they are promised to Gaekwar's share of the chouth and the district of Chourassy.—Gaekwar reduces Shelookur, and obtains the Peishwa's share of Guzerat in farm.—Death of Govind Rao Gaekwar—his eldest son, Anund Rao, succeeds him—two parties in the government, the one under Rowjee Appajee, the other under Kanhojee Rao Gaekwar—both apply to the British government for aid—the governor of Bombay supports the party of Rowjee Appajee by sending a small detachment into Guzerat under Major Walker.—Mulhar Rao Gaekwar attacks the British troops—reinforcement sent into Guzerat—Mulhar Rao is reduced.—A British subsidiary force established at Baroda—embarrassed state of the finances.—Sunkhera reduced.—The Arab mercenaries oppose the projected reforms.—Siege and surrender of Baroda—Kanhojee Rao Geakwar maintains an insurrection against the government.—Affair of Sawree—gallant conduct of Major Holmes.

A.D. 1793.

THE reader may recollect that Govind Rao Gaekwar assumed charge of the Baroda government in December 1793, and also that Aba Shelookur, the deputy governor of the Peishwa's share of Guzerat, was one of the principal persons who accompanied Nana Furnuwees to Sindia's camp, the day on which that minister was treacherously seized by Michel Filoze. Aba Shelookur gave Doulut Rao Sindia a bond for 10 lakhs of rupees as the price of his liberty, and for permission to return to Guzerat, where, on his arrival, he immediately assumed charge of the

A.D. 1798.

of Guzerat in farm to the Baroda government, for a period of five years, at five lakhs of rupees annually. This agreement was concluded in October 1800; but the death of Govind Rao, which happened during the preceding month, occasioned fresh disturbances in the province.

Govind Rao Gaekwar left a large family; four legitimate and seven illegitimate sons, besides daughters. His eldest son Anund Rao was acknowledged by the principal officers as successor; but, being a prince of weak intellect, different parties attempted to take the lead in the administration. Kanhojee Rao, the eldest illegitimate son of Govind Rao, a bold ambitious young man, was, in consequence of his turbulent behaviour, placed in confinement previous to his father's death, but having afterwards contrived to effect his release, by professions of attachment to his brother and his influence with some of the soldiery, he soon usurped, not only the office of minister, but the entire powers of the state, and continued to rule for some months. At the end of that time he was deposed by a party headed by Rowjee Appajee, a Purvoe, who had been the principal minister of the late Govind Rao; and both these persons—Rowjee the minister in power, and Kanhojee the deposed authority—made offers to the Bombay government, in order to engage its support. Rowjee promised to confirm the cessions of the late Govind Rao, and Kanhojee offered to add the district of Chickly to the grant. Rowjee was

A.D. 1801.

supported by his brother Babajee, who commanded the cavalry of the state, and by the greater part of a large body of Arab mercenaries who composed the garrison of the town. The Arabs, whose numbers amounted to about 7,000, though in some respects bound by unity of interests, were, with their chiefs, divided among themselves into parties, under the influence of two soucars or bankers,* the one named Mungul Parikh, the other Samul Becher—both men of great wealth acquired by exorbitant interest on loans, and who were the means by which the needy government of the Gaekwar was at once supplied and impoverished. Both these persons had acceded to the deposition of Kanhojee, so that Rowjee's party was the strongest at Baroda; but the cause of Kanhojee was espoused by Mulhar Rao Gaekwar, the first cousin of the late Govind Rao, and son and successor to Khundee Rao, the jagheerdar of Kurree, a man of considerable talent and enterprise. On promise of a remission of arrears and exemption from future tribute on the part of Kanhojee, Mulhar Rao, although he had at first acquiesced in the propriety of deposing and confining him, took the field, at the head of a considerable army, in aid of his cause, and began to reduce the garrisons held for Anund Rao under the administration of Rowjee. The minister immediately proposed to the

* The soldiery in the service of native states in India, owing to the irregular manner in which they are paid, have generally a shroff, or money-changer, the agent of some soucar, attached to each division, who advances them money at a high interest, and recovers it as he best can.

Bombay government to subsidize five battalions, on condition of being supported against Mulhar Rao—and offer too tempting to be resisted; but the governor general having sent no reply to Mr. Duncan's numerous applications for instructions, it was determined, with that injudicious caution which characterizes half-measures, to send a small auxiliary force of about 1,600 men to Rowjee's support. Major Alexander Walker, the officer in command of the detachment, was instructed to settle the disturbance by amicable mediation, if possible; otherwise he was to act with Babajee, the brother of Rowjee, in suppressing the rebellion of Mulhar Rao. Major Walker's detachment joined the Gaekwar's army in the end of February 1802, and advanced with it towards Kurree. Mulhar Rao, affecting regret for what he had done, offered to restore the places he had taken, and seemed sincerely desirous of making his peace: it was, however, soon discovered that he was insincere in his professions: the army advanced, Mulhar Rao continued to negotiate, but suddenly, and in a most treacherous manner, attacked the troops, and was repulsed by the British detachment, though they lost on the occasion about 50 men. It being, however, afterwards discovered that Mulhar Rao had seduced many of the Gaekwar's troops, Major Walker's situation became critical, and all the disposable troops at Bombay and Goa were immediately embarked under command of Colonel Sir William Clarke, who landed at Cambay on the 12th of April, marched on the

March 17.

14th, and joined Major Walker at Kurree, who had acted chiefly on the defensive since the action of the 17th of March. Colonel Clarke found Mulhar Rao's army strongly entrenched under the walls of the town, and it was determined to storm their position without delay. The attack was made at break of day on the morning of the 30th April, and the entrenchments carried in the most gallant style, with the loss on the part of the British of 163 men in killed and wounded.* Mulhar Rao shortly afterwards surrendered at discretion; Kurree was evacuated, and made over to the Gaekwar's government, but two companies of sepoys remained under a British officer to garrison the citadel. A small part of the army returned with Sir William Clarke to Bombay; the rest remained under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Woodington, subject to the requisitions of Major Walker, who was appointed political resident at the Gaekwar's court.

April 30.

A place of residence was assigned to Mulhar Rao in the town of Neriad, and 1,25,000 rupees

* An extraordinary anecdote is related of Lieutenant M'Cole of the 75th regiment in this attack, which deserves to be recorded. Just as Lieutenant M., at the head of the grenadiers, had got into the entrenchment, he observed a Patan in the act of levelling his matchlock at him, when, snatching up a cannon-shot which happened to be at his foot, he threw it with such instantaneous effect, as to prevent his purpose by killing him on the spot. Lieutenant M.'s strength and agility, as may be conceived from this fact, were very remarkable; but shortly afterwards, having caught the Guzerat fever, he died at Baroda after a few hours' illness.

of the revenue of that district were set aside for his support, with a promise, in the event of his conducting himself peaceably, to enlarge his income as the necessities of the state were diminished.

The finances of the Baroda government were in such a deplorable state of confusion and embarrassment, that without foreign aid it would have been quite impossible to extricate it from total ruin. The prudence and ability of the British resident were a powerful means of introducing reform; for although Rowjee Appajee was anxious for power, and jealous of authority, he gladly solicited support when insurrections were to be suppressed, the government to be strengthened, its expenses to be reduced money to be raised, and debt to be redeemed.

The object requiring immediate attention was Gunput Rao, a relation of the Gaekwar family, and mamlitdar of Sunkhera near Baroda, who had declared for Mulhar Rao, and held the fort of Sunkhera in his name: he had also been joined by Moorar Rao, one of the illegitimate sons of the late Gaekwar. A detachment of the subsidiary force was sent to reduce Sunkhera, and soon succeeded in obtaining its surrender; but Gunput Rao and Moorar Rao made their escape, and found a refuge with the Powars of Dhar.

The next difficulty originated in the first essential reform—the reduction of the military force. The Arab mercenaries, who had for some time ruled at Baroda, became alarmed at the prospect of a diminution

A.D. 1802.

in their body, and after some discussion, in the course of which they advanced extravagant demands for arrears, taking advantage of their situation in the town, they confined the Gaekwar, and refused to release him until their claims were satisfied. They also permitted Kanhojee to escape. Mulhar Rao disappeared about the same time from Neriad, and from the number of men already discharged, the late dispersion of Mulhar Rao's army, and the unemployed soldiery at all times numerous in Guzerat, great apprehensions of serious disorders were naturally entertained. Major Walker anxiously endeavoured to bring them to terms, and to restore order without the necessity of resorting to force; but finding every reasonable inducement ineffectual, he called in the aid of a European regiment from Bombay, which having joined the subsidiary force, Colonel Woodington invested the town of Baroda, and after a siege of ten days, during which the Arabs from the cover of the walls and houses killed a number of the assailants, and picked off a large proportion of officers, the breach being practicable, the garrison surrendered.

December 18.

The terms of capitulation were the payment of such arrears as might be found justly their due, and a promise on their part to quit the country. The arrears amounted to $17\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, and were duly discharged. Most of the Arab chiefs honorably adhered to the conditions, but some of them, especially Abood Jemadar, forfeited the pledge he had given, went off at the head of a large party in a contrary direction to that which had been prescribed, and with a view to join Kanhojee.

Colonel Woodington, having been sent in pursuit of them, surprised their camp, and dispersed them, but the fugitives prosecuted their route, and ultimately most of them joined Kanhojee. That person, after his escape from Baroda, fled to Rajpeeplee, a hilly tract on the northern boundary of Maharashtra, where, having collected a body of men, he returned to Guzerat during the siege of Baroda, attacked and routed a body of Babajee's troops, and prosecuted his march to the vicinity of the town.

Five days after its surrender, a detachment, consisting of his majesty's 75th regiment and a battalion of sepoys, was sent under Major Holmes in pursuit of Kanhojee, who continued moving about, collecting troops, levying contributions, and endeavouring to stir up a party in his favour at Baroda. After a vain pursuit of one month, it was thought advisable to reinforce Major Holmes with 250 Europeans and 300 sepoys, and at length Kanhojee took post in a strong ravine within four or five miles of the village of Sauree, where his troops, concealing themselves, allowed the advanced guard to enter before they gave their fire. It fell with such effect that the troops were thrown into some disorder. The Arabs immediately charged sword in hand, overpowered the advanced guard, and pressed forward in a most animated, and daring manner. Major Holmes instantly dismounted, and placing himself at the head of the grenadiers of the 75th, followed by those of the second battalion 1st regiment, he rushed forward, supported by his whole line, and

Jan. 1, 1803.

February 6.

soon drove the enemy from the field. The loss of the British in this affair was considerable, upwards of 100 men having been killed and wounded, of whom five were officers. Major Holmes displayed great energy on the occasion, particularly in a personal rencontre with an Arab of great size, whom he laid dead at his feet, having by one cut nearly severed the body of his antagonist.*

Kanhojee continued in Guzerat for about a month after this defeat, till having near Kupperwunj made a last attempt to stand, his camp was stormed by Major Holmes, and his force dispersed. He himself fled to Oojein.†

* I give this anecdote on the authority of my friend and brother officer, the late Major Edward Tandy, who saw the combat between them. The late Major-General Sir George Holmes, K.C.B., Major at the time the above affair took place, was a man of great stature and strength. He is said to have been frequently engaged hand to hand, and to have been always equally successful. He carried a stout stick in action, which, when he condescended to draw his sword, he used as a shield.

† Major Tandy's private journal, Bombay Records, oral information.

CHAPTER XII.

A.D. 1802 AND A.D. 1803.

Events at Poona.—Winaek Rao, the son of Amrut Rao, is placed on the musnud by Holkar.—Treaty of Bassein.—Sindia and Rughoojee Bhonslay unite to obstruct the objects of the treaty.—Advance of the British troops—return of the Peishwa to Poona—Negotiation with the confederates—preparations for war—war declared—capture of Ahmednugur—battle of Assaye—Burhanpoor—Asseergurh—Baroach and Pawungurh taken.—Of the war in Hindostan.—Revert to General de Boigne—his opinions and those of his successor—advance of the Bengal army—affair of Coel—storm of Aligurh—successful attack on Shekoabad by M. Fleury—battle of Delhi—battle of Agra—battle of Laswaree—conquest of Kuttack, and of Bundelcund.—Supplemental articles to the treaty of Bassein.—Prosecution of the war in the Deccan—Captain Baynes' defence—negotiations—battle of Argaon—siege and storm of Gawelgurh—negotiations—treaty of Deogaom—treaty of Surjee Anjengaom, and of Burhanpoor—partition treaties—treaties with the Rajpoots, Jaths, and Ambajee Inglia.

THE natural order of events now carries us back to affairs at Poona before entering on the history of the important transactions which succeeded the Peishwa's arrival at Bassein.

A.D. 1802.

The moderation at first shown by Holkar after his victory was a mere cloak to allure Bajee Rao to return to his capital. Being in distress for funds to pay his troops, Holkar, in order to satisfy the most urgent of their demands, was obliged to levy a contribution from the city of

Poona, but for that purpose he employed two of Bajee Rao's ministers, Chintoo Punt Deshmookh and Wyjunath Punt Mama, who, without being apprized of their master's intention, had been sent by him to negotiate with Holkar a few hours previous to his retreat from Singurh to the Concan. Such was their influence with the inhabitants, that a very considerable cess was promptly raised, in the vain hope of buying exemption from future pillage by their readiness to comply with a measure, which, sanctioned by these men, had something of the character of regular authority.

When Holkar found that the Peishwa had no intention of returning, he sent a body of his troops to Amrut Rao at Joonere, inviting him to take charge of the government at Poona; but Amrut Rao, on various pretences, declined the invitation for several days. At last he arrived on the 12th November, and was prevailed upon to assume the government, in which he was assisted by Moraba Furnuwees, Baba Rao Phurkay, and several others of the adherents of Nana Furnuwees. He held his court in tents pitched at the village of Bamboorее on the outskirts of the city. He refused to ascend the musnud himself, and for some time opposed a plan of elivating his son, Winaek Rao, to that dignity, as desired by Holkar; but when Bajee Rao quitted Mhar, and threw himself entirely on the protection of the English, Amrut Rao pretended to consider it an abdication of the Peishwa-ship, and assented to the proposal of Holkar. The raja of Sattara at first obstinately

November 12.

refused to grant the usual form of investiture, till prevailed upon by his brother Chittoor Sing, who had been for some time of Holkar's party, serving with the division of Futih Sing Manay.

Holkar now laid aside the mask of moderation, and began to extort and to plunder with all the violence of his habits and character. Chintoo Punt and Wyjunath Punt, who, by their exertions in levying the contribution, might have been at least entitled to his forbearance, were delivered over as prisoners to Huree Punt Bhawey and Hureenath, two Bramins, equally cruel, and more systematically wicked, than Shirzee Rao Ghatgay. They tortured both the persons thus made over to them in order to extort money; and every respectable householder of Poona, possessed of property, was seized and forced, by any means, to give up his wealth. Several men died under the tortures they underwent. Amrut Rao was not less blameable than Holkar in the enormities thus inflicted on the unhappy inhabitants of Poona, whose sufferings at this time were particularly severe, owing to Bajee Rao's having stationed guards to prevent their flight previous to the battle of the 25th October; and Holkar, though with a different motive, took care to observe a similar precaution as soon as the issue of the contest had established his control.

These excesses were begun even before Colonel Close quitted Poona. Both Amrut Rao and Holkar were very desirous of prolonging his stay, in hopes of his being prevailed upon to mediate in their differences with Sindia and the Peishwa, and of gaining by his presence the

apparent sanction of the British government to their usurpation; but finding that no persuation could alter his purpose, he was at last permitted to depart on the 20th November, and he arrived at Bombay on the 3rd of the following month. Colonel Close met Bajee Rao on the evening of the day on which the latter landed at Bassein; and the preliminary of the proposed treaty, already tendered by an agent on the day of his flight from his capital, was immediately alluded to, and acknowledged by the Peishwa himself. The 18th December was the day appointed for the discussion of the various articles of this treaty, and on the 31st it was finally completed. It was declaredly for the purpose of general defensive alliance, and the reciprocal protection of the territories of the Peishwa and the English East India Company, and their allies respectively. For this purpose a subsidiary force, of not less than 6,000 regular infantry, with the usual proportion of field artillery and the European artillerymen, were to be permanently stationed in the Peishwa's dominions. In the event of war, two battalions of the infantry, not less than 1,000 each, were to remain near the Peishwa's person: the rest, joined by 6,000 infantry and 10,000 horse of the Peishwa's own troops, were to act as circumstances might require. No European of a nation hostile to the English was to be entertained by the Peishwa. Districts yielding 26 lakhs of rupees were assigned for the payment of the subsidiary force; and all articles intended for the consumption of these troops

were to be allowed to pass duty free. The Peishwa relinquished his claims on Surat, and submitted to the British arbitration in the adjustment of his differences and claims on the Nizam and the Gaekwar; with respect to the former, he bound himself to conform to the treaty of Mhar; and in regard to the latter, he recognized the engagement lately concluded between Anund Rao Gaekwar and the British. The Peishwa likewise bound himself to engage in no hostilities with other states, neither to commence nor pursue, in future, any negotiations with any power whatever, without previous consultation with the British government.

Such was the substance of the important treaty of Bassein, by which the Peishwa sacrificed his independence as the price of protection; but it was the only course he could pursue to save himself from becoming, more than ever, a pageant in the hands of one or other of the contending chiefs. He had scarcely ratified the treaty when he began to waver in his plans, and to regret the decided line of policy, so contrary to his disposition, into which he had been hurried by the exigency of his circumstances. Motives of policy probably dictated the expression of his regret that Sindia had not been consulted, but there was no insincerity in his strenuous objections to those articles which tended to control his political freedom and influence, nor to the arbitration of his claims on the Gaekwar and the Nizam—a sacrifice on his part greater than the English authorities seem ever to have

fully understood, or at all events appreciated. He despatched Ballajee Koonjur to Sindia, and Narain Rao Wydh to Rughoojee Bhonslay, ostensibly with the view of explaining the nature of the alliance into which he had entered, but in fact, as he knew they were both averse to it, rather to excuse his conduct in having been obliged, owing to their absence, to flee from Holkar and seek safety with Europeans. He sent no copy of the treaty, and in his letter invites Sindia and Rughoojee Bhonslay to march to Poona with all speed—not expressly to act against the English, of whom he takes no notice, but to punish the rebel Holkar.* He seems to have expected that Sindia and Rughoojee Bhonslay would unite to oppose the objects of the treaty; to have been doubtful of the issue of the contest that might ensue between them and the English; and to have been anxious, as usual, to deceive all parties, whilst he at the same time endeavoured to keep on terms with them.

A.D. 1803.

The governor general hoped that Sindia might be deterred from any hostile attempts to obstruct the operation of the treaty. After the battle of Poona, an effort was made to induce him to enter upon the defensive alliance, and, upon the conclusion of the treaty of Bassein, he was again invited, in the manner hereafter detailed, to enter on similar engagements; but Sindia, though he would have been pleased in the first moment of alarm, after the defeat of his army by Holkar, to have seen a British force

* Copies of his secret letters found in his palace at Poona.

co-operating with his own for the temporary purpose of re-establishing the Peishwa in his capital, and suppressing the power of his rival, was mortified and incensed on finding that his own and his uncle's plans for controlling the Peishwa's government were at once frustrated and overturned. Nor were these the only evils resulting from the Peishwa's engagements. He saw his own independence might be soon affected by the support which the Peishwa derived from a foreign nation, whose power, by a novel system of encroachment, threatened the subversion of the Mahrattas, as effectually as their establishment of chouth and surdeshmookhee had overwhelmed the empire of the Moghuls.

The aversion with which Rughoojee Bhonslay had always regarded the Peishwa's connecting himself with the English was well known, and his sentiments on the present occasion were in entire unison with those of Sindia. Yadow Rao Bhaskur, Sindia's prime minister, was deputed by his master to consult with Rughoojee on the best means of cementing a general confederacy of the Mahrattas against the common enemy; and Sindia, who had been preparing troops to oppose Holkar, crossed the Nerbuddah on the 4th February with a large army, with which he encamped at Burhanpoor on the 23rd of that month. It was a few days after this period when Colonel Collins, an envoy on the part of the governor general, arrived for the purpose of again inviting him to enter upon the alliance, and engaging his co-operation in the arrangements

required by the treaty with the Peishwa. To gain time Sindia at first evaded discussion; but, when pressed by Colonel Collins, he declined becoming a party to the defensive alliance, declaring that he had no intention of obstructing the treaty; he added that, as guarantee to the treaty of Salbye, he expected to have been consulted before these new engagements were made, but that his intentions were, in every respect, friendly to the British government. These professions were from the first deceitful; both Rughoojee Bhonslay and himself were actively preparing for war, and Bajee Rao continued in constant correspondence with them, secretly encouraging their views.*

The governor general, in the meantime, had taken his measures for the re-establishment of Bajee Rao on his musnud at Poona. For this purpose the subsidiary force at Hyderabad, consisting of six battalions of infantry, each upwards of 1,000 strong, with two regiments of native cavalry under Colonel Stevenson, took up a position at Purinda near the Peishwa's eastern frontier, accompanied by 15,000 of the Nizam's troops. The Hon'ble Major-General Wellesly was detached from the main army of Madras, assembled on the northern frontier of Mysore, with 8,000 infantry and 1,700 cavalry, being directed to march towards Poona for the purpose of co-operating with Colonel Stevenson in the Peishwa's restoration. General Wellesley was joined on the banks of the Kistna

March 25.

* Copies of secret letter found in the palace at Poona.

by the southern Mahratta jagheerdars—Appa Shaib and Chintamun Rao Putwardhun, Bappoo Gunnesh Gokla, Appa Dessaye Nepankur, and the family of the Patunkurs. The jagheerdar of Vinchoor, grandson of Wittul Sewdeo, likewise attended the British army. The southern jagheerdars had orders from the Peishwa to co-operate with the English; and all of them on this occasion, especially the family of Putwardhun, evinced a very friendly disposition to the British government. Straggling bodies of Holkar's horse, belonging to the division of Umeer Khan and Futih Sing Manay, were plundering the country between the Beema and Kistna; but on being called upon to desist, they retired. They had scarcely crossed the Beema when Umeer Khan, suspecting that Manay intended to join the Peishwa, contrived to seize him, and disperse his troops.

General Wellesley, on approaching Poona, made a march of 60 miles in 32 hours, and reached that city with his cavalry on the 20th April. Colonel Stevenson in the meantime arrived from Purinda at Gardoon on the Beema. General Wellesly's object in advancing so rapidly was to save the city of Poona, which it was supposed Amrut Rao intended to burn; but he had retired many hours before the arrival of the British troops. Holkar was already on his retreat towards Malwa; but intelligence having reached Colonel Stevenson that he had levied a contribution on Aurungabad, and plundred some of the Nizam's villages, that officer advanced towards the Godavery for the protection of the country.

Amrut Rao, accompanied by Huree Punt Bhawee, after leaving Poona, marched to Sungumnere, plundering the towns and villages on his route; then turning on Nassuck, he attacked and defeated a body of troops in the interests of Bajee Rao, commanded by Raja Buhadur, and pillaged the town in the same barbarous manner as had been already done at Poona. Amrut Rao remained in the neighbourhood of Nassuck for some time; and, as we shall have little occasion to introduce his name in the subsequent pages of this history, we may here briefly mention that all overtures of reconciliation between him and Bajee Rao having been obstinately rejected by the latter, he entered into an engagement with General Wellesley, and during the progress of the war which followed, joined the British troops with a body of horse. His services were on no occasion conspicuous, but a most liberal pension of eight lakhs of rupees was assigned to him by the British government, on which he retired to Benares, where he still resides.

The Peishwa, escorted by a body of 2,300 infantry, of whom 1,200 were Europeans, arrived from Bassein, and resumed his seat on the musnud the 13th May. Sindia still occupied his position at Burhanpoor, and Rughoojee Bhonslay was preparing to join him. Every endeavour was used to induce Holkar to take a part in the confederacy. Rughoojee Bhonslay was employed as meditator between him and Sindia; and Holkar, who was at the same time carrying on a negotiation with the Peishwa through Colonel Close,

listened and appeared to favour the overtures of the confederates, from whom he obtained the release of his nephew, Khundee Rao, the restoration of his family territory in Malwa, and a promise that all his rights in Hindostan should be recognized.

It was the interest of the British government to conciliate Holkar; and, in order to prevent his joining the confederacy, they wished to overlook any cause of complaint they had against him; but the Peishwa could not be prevailed upon to listen to any mediation in his favour. The confederates wished Holkar to unite his army with theirs in the Deccan, but he excused himself by asking who was to take care of Hindostan; and immediately retired to Malwa with the real design of being guided by the issue of events.

Although the plants of the confederates were conducted with considerable secrecy, remours of their hostile designs were universally prevalent. The governor general deemed it expedient to call upon Sindia for an explicit declaration of his intentions, and to make efficient preparations in every part of British India to repel the hostilities apparently meditated. In reply to the demands for explanation sent by the resident, Sindia declared that it was impossible to afford any satisfaction until he had met the raja of Berar, after which the resident should be informed whether it would be peace or war.

Their armies advanced to the frontier of the Nizam's boundary, and encamped in the neighbourhood of each other. The force under

Colonel Stevenson crossed to the northward of the Godavery, and General Wellesley occupied a position in the neighbourhood of Ahmednugur. A long train of evasion and delay followed the meeting between the chieftains. They declared they had no designs hostile to the British government, nor any intention of obstructing the articles of the treaty of Bassein; but they alluded to their having received no official copy of it from the Peishwa, and mentioned that there were many points of it to be discussed, which the Peishwa was bound to have consulted them upon before he signed its stipulations. Their professions of friendly intentions were only made with the view of gaining time, in the hope of Holkar's being induced to embrace their cause. Their whole conduct in other respects indicated their hostile determination; and the menacing position which they occupied, justified the warlike preparations of the British government. General Wellesley, having been vested with full powers as political agent of the governor general, as well as military commander of the British troops in the Deccan, proposed, as the test of the friendly declarations of the chiefs, that they should withdraw their armies—Sindia to Hindostan and Rughoojee Bhonslay to Berar, whilst he should also direct the British troops to retire within their own territories. This plain and distinct proposal, so characteristic of its author, perplexed the Mahratta chiefs, as there was no evading compliance, except by a subterfuge too palpable to be overlooked or justified; after much discussion, it was finally rejected; the resident withdrew

from their camp on the 3rd August, which was considered a declaration of war.

The governor general, when he saw that war was inevitable, had resolved to strike a dicisive blow, and, by a grand effort, to attack the territories of the confederates in every quarter at once. For this purpose the preparations of the British government were necessarily very extensive. Its resources were called forth on a scale of magnitude and efficiency before unknown, and the governor general, by his liberality, his judicious selection of agents and commanders, and his confidence in the whole service, roused that ardour and spirit of enterprize which have been handed down in the Indian army, from the first struggles of the British nation in the east.

The British forces assembled in different quarters of India amounted to nearly 50,000 men.

The army in the Deccan and Guzeraṭ amounted to 35,596 men, of whom 3,595 were left for the protection of Hyderabad and Poona, and 7,826 formed the covering army under General Stuart, between the Kistna and Toongbuddra.* The advanced force with General Wellesley consisted of 8,930 men under his personal command, and 7,920 under Colonel Stevenson. There were 7,352 men in Guzerat, of whom, after providing for the garrisons, 4,281 were available for field service, and placed under the orders of Colonel Murray, subject to the control of General Wellesley.

* In this part of the force there was subsequently some alteration made of no importance to the Mahratta history.

In Hindostan 10,500 men were collecting under General Lake, 3,500 men were assembled at Allahabad to act on the side of Bundelcund, and 5,216 men were destined for the invasion of Rughoojee Bhonslay's districts in Kuttack.

The armies of Doulut Rao Sindia and Rughoojee Bhonslay were estimated at about 1,00,000 men, of whom about 50,000 were horse, and upwards of 30,000 were regular infantry and artillery, commanded by Europeans; of the rest, some were half-disciplined corps under the command of natives belonging to Rughoojee Bhonslay, some were matchlockmen and rocket-men; they had many hundred pieces of cannon, and Sindia's train of field artillery was excellent. Of the regular infantry, 10,000 or 12,000 were with Sindia in the Deccan, and 4,000 or 5,000 were on their march from the Deccan, conducted by the Chevalier Dudrenec, for the purpose of reinforcing the army in Hindostan. Sindia's army in the latter quarter was commanded by Monsieur Perron, the successor of De Boigne. His whole force, including those not yet joined, under Dudrenec, amounted to 16,000 or 17,000 regular infantry, and from 15,000 to 20,000 horse, of which 4,000 or 5,000 were regular cavalry. This estimate does not include the forces of Shumsher Buhadur in Bundelcund, who was a party in the confederacy. Shumsher Buhadur was the son of Ali Buhadur, who, as the reader may remember, attempted, in conjunction with the Gosaeen Himmut Buhadur, to conquer Bundelcund. They so far succeeded as to possess themselves of several districts, all of which they held

in the Peishwa's name—partly as belonging to him from a remote period, and the rest as their own jagheer. But being constantly engaged in warfare with the petty chiefs of the country, it furnished an excuse for remitting no part of the revenue to the Peishwa, although they acknowledged his authority. Ali Buhadur died in 1802, and his jagheer was formally resumed by the Peishwa; but, as the latter had no means of enforcing the resumption, Shumsher, the son of the deceased, retained charge of the territory, took part against the English on the present occasion, and mustered, of all descriptions, about 10,000 or 12,000 men.

General Wellesley received accounts of the unsuccessful termination of the resident's negotiation with the confederates on the 6th August, the same day on which Nizam Ally died at Hyderabad—an event long expected, and which was attended by no commotion or change, except the accession of his son, Mirza Secundur Jah, to the soobehship of the Deccan.

August 6.

General Wellesley, who was encamped at the village of Walkee, eight miles south of Ahmednugur, was prevented by heavy rain from marching against that fortress until the 8th, when he commenced hostilities by detaching three divisions from his line of march to attack the pettah by escalade. The pettah is surrounded by a mud wall, and was obstinately defended by a body of Arabs and one of Sindia's regular battalions, supported by a party of horse stationed between the pettah and

August 8.

the fort; but the perseverance and spirit of the assailants surmounted every obstacle; and this prompt manner of proceeding gave a character to the commander and troops, in the opinion of the enemy, which made amends for the loss sustained in the attack. Of the British detachments, 28 were killed and 22 wounded, of which number six were European officers. A battery was opened upon the fortress on the 10th, and on the 12th this important garrison, once the capital of the Nizam Shahee kingdom, which, ever since the days of Chaund Beebee, had the reputation in the Deccan of being almost impregnable, was surrendered by its killidar, who marched out with private property and arms at the head of his garrison, 1,500 strong—a conduct for which he was much censured by the confederates.

August 12.

The acquisition of Ahmednugur as a point of support to all future operations to the northward, was of great consequence to the British army. A respectable garrison was left in the fort, and the revenues of the district were temporarily collected by an agent of the British government, and appropriated to assist in the expenses of the war. General Wellesley moved forward, crossed the Godavery, and arrived at Aurungabad on the 29th August. The Mahrattas had ascended the Ajunta Ghaut on the 24th with a large body of horse, and, avoiding Colonel Stevenson, who was some miles to the eastward, they encamped at Jaulna. On hearing of General Wellesley's arrival at Aurungabad, they moved off in a southeasterly direction, intending, it was said, to

proceed to Hyderabad. General Wellesley immediately moved down to the left bank of the Godavery to check their probable design of plundering the country, and to protect his own convoys of grain, which were forwarded by General Stuart from the covering army south of the Kistna.

Neither Rughoojee Bhonslay nor Sindia were possessed of military enterprize or experience, and they were quite undecided as to their plan of operations; sometimes Sindia proposed to depend on his battalions and artillery, at other times Rughoojee persuaded him to act on the predatory plan; their operations were of course feeble in the extreme. When General Wellesley moved down the Godavery, they countermarched in a northerly direction; and whilst the general awaited the junction of his convoys, Colonel Stevenson made several unavailing attempts to bring them to action, but only succeeded in partially surprising their camp on the night of the 9th September. He had also made himself master of the fort of Jaulna. On the 21st September the whole of the Mahratta army, joined by their infantry, of which there were 16 battalions of regulars, was encamped about the village of Bokerdun, and between that place and Jaffeirabad. On the same day General Wellesley and Colonel Stevenson met at Budnapoor, when it was agreed that the two divisions, then in the neighbourhood of each other, should move separately, and attack the enemy on the morning of the 24th. They

September 9.

September 21.

accordingly marched on the 22nd—Colonel Stevenson by the western, and General Wellesley by the eastern, route. On the 23rd, on reaching the village of Naulney, where he was about to encamp, General Wellesley learnt from his spies that the confederate armies were encamped on the Kailna river, within six miles of him. With great prudence and decision, founded on a remarkable discernment of the character of his enemy,* he instantly resolved on attacking them without waiting for Colonel Stevenson. Had General Wellesley hesitated, the enemy's infantry would have moved off, their horse would probably have been encouraged to attack his baggage and annoy his camp, the service must have been prolonged, and by one day's delay or hesitation a new character might have been given to the war.

Having directed his deputy adjutant-general, Captain Barclay, to place the baggage in the village of Naulney, under the protection of a battalion and some details from the native corps, and to bring on the rest of the line with all convenient despatch, General Wellesley moved

* I have had occasion to observe how well the Duke of Wellington must have known the Mahrattas from having read his private letters to Sir Barry Close during the war of 1803. Without being acquainted with their language, and, one would have supposed, with little opportunity of knowing the people or their history, his correct views of the Mahratta character and policy are very remarkable. As the letters in question were shown to me confidentially in 1817, in the course of my official duties, I may be only authorized to mention that, in some instances, his opinion of individuals, particularly of Bajee Rao, was correctly prophetic.

out in person at the head of the pickets to reconnoitre, and in a short time, on ascending a rising ground, the host of the confederates was seen extending in a vast line along the opposite bank of the Kailna river, near its junction with the Juah. Their army amounted to upwards of 50,000 men, of whom more than 30,000 were horse, and 10,500 were regular infantry, supported by upwards of 100 guns. The handful of British troops which now moved straight down upon this formidable array did not exceed 4,500 men,* but the general sentiment was that of their commander—"they cannot escape us." As General Wellesley drew nearer the enemy's line, he found their right composed entirely of cavalry, and that their cannon and infantry, which it was his object to take and destroy, were on their left near the village of Assaye. He therefore moved round and passed the Kailna river at a ford beyond the enemy's left flank, forming his infantry into two lines, and his cavalry as a reserve in a third, with his right towards the Juah, and his left on the Kailna. The horse belonging to the Peishwa and the raja of Mysore accompanying General Wellesley formed at a distance across the Kailna, but had little or no share in the conflict.† The position thus

* The corps which had the honor to serve on this occasion were the 19th light dragoons, the 4th, 5th, and 7th Madras native cavalry, a detachment of Madras, and a small detail of Bombay, artillery, the 74th and 78th Highlanders, 1 battalion 2nd, 1 battalion 4th, 1 battalion 8th, 1 battalion 10th, and 2 battalions 12th regiment of Madras sepoys.

† Just before the battle of Assaye commenced, intelligence was brought to General Wellesley that the Peishwa's troops

occupied by the British, between the two rivers and near their junction, not only brought them upon their object, but was of importance in diminishing the front of the enemy, who changed their position as the British turned the flank of their old ground, and were now drawn up in two lines, one of them fronting the British troops, the other running at a right angle to their first line, with the left of both resting on the fortified village of Assaye. In this situation, as the British lines were forming, the Mahrattas opened a heavy cannonade, the execution of which is described as terrible. The pickets of the infantry and the 74th regiment, which were on the right, suffered particularly: the pickets were for a time halted, and the officer in command of them, when urged to advance, sent word that the guns were disabled, and the bullocks killed. General Wellesley received the message with the utmost composure, and coolly replied—"Well, tell him to get on without them." The whole line without artillery was exposed to a dreadful fire of round and grape; the ranks of the 74th were completely thinned, and a large body of the Mahratta horse charged them: the order was given for the advance of the British cavalry: the 19th light dragoons, who only drew 360 swords, received the intimation with one loud huzza! Accompanied by the 4th native cavalry, who emulated their conduct throughout this

intended to join Sindia in attacking him. That they would have done so in the event of a reverse is not improbable, but I have not met with any confirmation of the circumstance.

arduous day,* the 19th passed through the broken but invisible 74th, whose very wounded joined in cheering them as they went on, cut in and routed the horse, and dashed on at the infantry and guns. Never did cavalry perform better service, or contribute more to the success of a battle. The British infantry likewise pressed forward, the enemy's first line gave way, fell back on their second, and the whole were forced into the Juah at the point of the bayonet; the fugitives, on gaining the opposite bank, were followed, charged, and broken by

* Nothing could exceed the zeal of some of the cavalry, particularly the 19th dragoons; every officer and man fought as if on his arm depended the victory. As instances may be mentioned, Lieutenant Nathan Wilson, who, with his arm shattered by a grape shot, and dangling by his side, charged on at the head of his troop. Lieutenant Alexander Grant, of the Madras native infantry, major of brigade to Colonel Maxwell, observing a gun pointed ready to discharge on the flank of the 19th dragoons, the match suspended on the touch-hole, with a noble impulse, in hopes of preventing it, darted forward almost on its muzzle, and with such force that his horse stuck between the cannon and its wheel; in this situation the gun went off, as he was in the act of endeavouring to prevent it by cutting down the artilleryman. Captain George Sale was attacking a man who defended himself with a pike or short spear, a weapon with which all Sindia's artillerymen were armed; the man's comrade, standing on a gun, made a thrust from above at Captain Sale, but it was turned by the breast-bone, and glanced off diagonally across his chest; his covering serjeant, named Strange, laid the man dead who wounded his officer, but in the act was himself speared through the lungs by another man from below the gun. Captain Sale went on, but begged the serjeant to fall in the rear, this, however, he gallantly refused rode out the day. Captain Sale and others afterwards saw him, when in hospital, blow out a candle from his lungs. The reader will be pleased to learn that the gallant serjeant recovered.

the cavalry ; but some of their corps formed again and went off in good order. One large body of this description was pursued and routed by the British cavalry, on which occasion Colonel Maxwell, who commanded them, was killed. As the British line advanced, they passed many individuals of the enemy who either appeared to have submitted or lay apparently dead. These persons, rising up, turned their guns on the rear of the British line, and after the more important points of the victory were secured, it was some time before the firing thus occasioned could be silenced. The enemy's horse hovered round for some time, but when the last body of infantry was broken, the battle was completely decided, and 98 pieces of cannon remained in the hands of the victors. The loss was severe ; upwards of one-third of the British troops lay dead or wounded, but they had, considering the circumstances, achieved a triumph more splendid than any recorded in Deccan history.

Of the enemy 1,200 were killed, and the whole neighbourhood was covered with their wounded. Yadow Rao Bhaskar, Sindia's minister, was amongst the slain. Rughoojee Bhonslay fled from the field in the commencement of the action, and Sindia soon followed his example. The whole of the horse behaved in the dastardly manner ; Sindia's infantry, although defeated by such a disparity of troops, did not altogether sully their high reputation. The artillerymen stood to the last, and eight of the old battalions of DeBoigne fought with ardour and firmness. Most of Sindia's battalions laboured under disadvantages by the

secession of the British part of their European officers, who, in consequence of a proclamation by the British government, quitted the Mahrattas at the breaking out of the war. This proclamation was addressed to all British subjects, native as well as European, offering them the same pay which they enjoyed with Sindia. It was judiciously extended to all Europeans and in regard to the British officers was equally humane and politic.

Colonel Stevenson, owing to various impediments, did not join General Wellesley until the evening of the 24th, when he was immediately detached in pursuit of the enemy, whose regular infantry retired before him and crossed the Nerbuddah, towards which Colonel Stevenson followed them. But the main army of the confederate, moved to the westward, with an intention, as was supposed, of marching by the Kassarbharee Ghaut towards Poona. Under this supposition General Wellesley remained on the south side of the Ajunta Ghaut, and directed Colonel Stevenson to take possession of the city of Burhanpoor, and to reduce the strong fort of Asseergurh, both of which objects he had accomplished by the 21st of October with inconsiderable loss. The dependent districts in Candeish, which fell in consequence to the British disposal, were placed under the temporary management of revenue officers of the Hyderabad state.

October 21.

In regard to the operations of the Guzerat troops under the orders of General Wellesley, a detachment of the field force was sent by Colonel Murray, under Lieutenant-Colonel Woodington,

for the purpose of reducing Sindia's possession in that quarter. The fortified town of Baroach was stormed and taken on the 29th August. Colonel Woodington next marched against the strong hill fort of Pawunguth took by assault the town of Champaneer, which is attached to it, and the fort surrendered on the 17th September.*

August 29.

September 29.

Whilst those successes attended the British arms on the west, affairs of not less consequence were passing in the north and east of India. The important possessions which had been acquired by Mahadajee Sindia in Hindostan were a primary object of attention with the British government. These provinces, independent of their value and their situation, were the nursery of the regular infantry of Sindia, which, although in itself less formidable to the British power than other descriptions of the Mahratta force, was in one respect dangerous, from its introduction of French officers whose patriotism might induce them to encourage and support their countrymen in a favourite scheme of conquest in the east.

General De Boigne, having been compelled, as already mentioned, to return to Europe in 1796 from bad health, was succeeded by M. Perron, who had particularly recommended himself to Sindia by his conduct at the battle of Kurdla, and who had been sent from the Deccan to Hindostan to assume the command of the army, the charge of the emperor's person, and the management of the jagheer from whence his brigades

* Public records, Mahratta MSS., Ferdinand Lewis Smith, and oral information.

were paid. De Boigne, with much of military enterprize and enthusiasm, as was at the same time a man of sense and prudence; a decided enemy to French revolutionary principles, and, though friendly and kind to Frenchmen who sought his service, the ideas of conquest in India entertained by many of his nation he regarded, even at that period, as chimerical. He knew the power and the watchful jealousy of the English, and he foresaw that any object which might be attempted by the states of India, through a connection with France, would certainly be anticipated by their subjugation. His last counsel to Sindia, "never to excite the jealousy of the British government by increasing his battalions, and rather to discharge them than risk a war," was a sound advice; but his supposed partiality for a English, and the sentiments of his successor, Perron,* which were precisely the reverse, was one cause which drove Sindia, more confident and ignorant than Perron himself, to attempt projects which brought on ruin and disaster, before he and his co-adjutors had fixed the mode of warfare they intended to pursue. Perron is said to have laid down a scheme of operations,† but jealousy and distrust on the part of Sindia, the neutrality of Holkar, and the intrigues of Sindia's officers for the purpose of superseding Perron in the government in Hindostan, seem to have combined in preventing its adoption.

* He appears to have imbibed some of his opinions after the departure of De Boigne, who represented him to me as a man of plain sense, of no talent, but a brave soldier.

† Ferdinand Lewis Smith.

The main body of the British force in Hindostan, already mentioned in the general preparations of the governor general, was assembled at Cawnpore ; and General Lake, the commander-in-chief, was vested with the same powers, civil and military, which had been delegated by the supreme government to General Wellesley in the Deccan. As soon as General Lake understood that the confederates had refused to withdraw their armies on the terms proposed by General Wellesley, he considered them in a state of war with the British government, and immediately put his troops in motion.

On the 29th August General Lake's army first came in sight of Perron's cavalry, 15,000 of whom were encamped at Coel, near the fort of Aligurh. After a trifling skirmish they retired as the British troops advanced ; the town of Coel was taken possession of, and Aligurh was summoned ; but every endeavour on the part of General Lake failed in inducing M. Perron, its governor, to surrender. Much dependence was placed on this fortress. It is very strong, situated on a plain, surrounded by swamps, having a good glacis, with a ditch 32 feet deep and 200 feet wide. It was well garrisoned, fully provided with cannon, ammunition, and provisions ; and the Mahrattas expected, as they had a right to expect, that it would sustain a long siege. The only passage into the fort was by a narrow causeway across a ditch, for which the French commandant, by gross neglect, had omitted to substitute a draw-bridge. General Lake, apprized of this circumstance, determined to hazard an attack by the gateway ;

and Mr. Lucan, a British subject, one of the officers who had come over from Sindia's service, offered to conduct the storming party. Break of day on the morning of the 4th September was the time appointed for the enterprize. On the firing of the morning gun, the party, who had been lying for some time within 400 yards of the gate, waiting for this signal, immediately advanced; and Colonel Monson pushed forward at the head of the flank companies of the 76th, in hopes of being able to enter the fort with a party of the enemy, supposed to have been stationed outside a breast-work. The work in question, however, was found abandoned, and the gate closed. Scaling ladders were applied, but such a formidable row of pikemen presented themselves above, that it was impossible to mount. A six-pounder was brought up to blow open the gate, but it had no effect. Much time and many lives were lost before a twelve-pounder could be substituted; and when it did come, four or five discharges were necessary to force an entrance. Advancing round a bastion, the party came upon the second gate, which was easily forced, and the third was taken by entering it with the fugitives; but the fourth and last gate, which led to the body of the place, could not be blown open, even by the application of the twelve-pounder, though great delay was experienced before the gun could be brought in. Thus disappointed, in a most trying situation, Major M'Leod, of the 76th, regiment, attempted the wicket, and most fortunately gained an entrance. He was followed by the grenadiers; the rampart was mounted, opposition soon ceased, and the British troops, by extraordinary bravery

and good fortune, found themselves masters of the fortress of Aligurh with the loss of 278 men in killed and wounded, of whom 17 were European officers. M. Perron, the commandant, were taken prisoner, and 2,000 of his garrison are said to have perished, including those who were drowned in the ditch.

In the meantime 5,000 of the Mahratta cavalry, which retired from Coel, prosecuted a suceessful enterprize under the direction of a Frenchman named Fleury, by attacking the cantonment of Shekoabad, where there was a detachment of five companies of sepoys and one gun. The assailants were repulsed on the first attempt, but having renewed the attack after the intervention of a day, the detachment, when nearly destitute of ammunition, capitulated, and were permitted to retire with their arms, on a promise of not serving against Sindia during the war. This attack obliged General Lake to send off a strong detachment, which arrived too late to save the cantonment, but was of importance to the security of an expected convoy.

Sept. 2—4.

Perron, who had for some time been conscious of a decline in Sindia's favour, and had even made some overtures to General Lake before the commencement of the war, proceeded, after the affair at Coel, to Muttra, where he received certain accounts of his being superseded in the government of Sindia's districts, and that his successor and personal enemy, Ambajee Inglia, was intriguing with the French officers under him, to deprive him of his jagheer, and of course of his command.

Under these circumstances, to secure his private fortune, and avoid a crisis in which he had nothing to gain, he addressed a letter to General Lake on the 5th September, requesting permission to pass with his effects, his family, and the officers of his suite, through the company's territories, to Lucknow; with which General Lake, under instructions from the governor-general, yielded a ready compliance.

Sept. 7—11. On the 7th September, General Lake's army marched from Aligurh towards Delhi, and on the 11th encamped within six miles of that city: but scarcely were the tents pitched, when the enemy unexpectedly appeared in front. The pickets immediately turned out, and General Lake with the cavalry proceeded to reconnoitre.

M. Louis Bourquin, the officer next in rank to Perron, hearing of the advance of the British force towards Delhi, and that a part of the army was detached in pursuit of Fleury, crossed the Jumna with 12 battalions of regular infantry, amounting to 8,000 or 9,000 men, besides 5,000 cavalry and 70 pieces of cannon, for the purpose of attacking General Lake, whose force, after providing for the safety of his baggage, amounted to about 4,500 men. Bourquin took up a strong position with his guns concealed by high grass, and General Lake, in advancing to reconnoitre, became exposed to a very heavy and destructive fire. The line of British infantry were ordered on, but it was a considerable time before they came up, and General Lake in the interim

practised a successful feint, by retiring with the cavalry, which the enemy, mistaking for a retreat, followed them, shouting as if secure of victory. The cavalry, however, opening from the centre, permitted the British infantry, advancing in perfect order to pass to the front. The fire of grape, round, and cannister from the Mahratta guns was for some minutes tremendous, but the British troops moved on steadily, without returning a shot, until they were within 100 yards. They were then ordered to fire a volley and charge bayonets. Sindia's infantry could not withstand the fury of their onset, but, abandoning their guns, fled with precipitation. The line of infantry then broke into open columns of companies; and the cavalry, which formed the second line, charging through the intervals, committed great slaughter among the fugitives, many of whom escaped from the sabre but to perish in the Jumna. The total loss of the Mahrattas was estimated at 3,000; that of the British army was 585, of whom 15 were European officers. Louis Bourquin, the commander of the Mahratta infantry, and five other French officers surrendered themselves prisoners three days afterwards. The other results of the victory were the possession of the capital of the Moghul empire, and of the family and person of the descendant of Timour. Though the change was but change of masters, it was a happy event for the aged and unfortunate Shah Alum to find himself once more under the protection of the British nation,

of whose honor and liberality he had experienced many proofs.

General Lake next marched against Agra, which he summoned, but no answer was returned. This garrison had been under the command of English officers, who, on the breaking out of the war, were confined by their own troops; the circumstance, combined with other causes, occasioned the greatest anarchy and confusion in the fort. Seven battalions of Sindia's regular infantry were encamped on the glacis; but the garrison were afraid to admit them, lest they should plunder a rich treasury which they wished to reserve for themselves. General Lake resolved to beat up the quarters of the seven battalions outside, in the first instance, in which

October 10.

he completely succeeded, taking 26 of their guns. Three days afterward, 2,500 of those who remained came over in a body, and were admitted into the British service. A few days after this event, the progress of the siege being considerable, the garrison applied to their European officers, whom they had kept prisoners, to make terms for them; on the 18th October they evacuated the fort with

October 18.

their private property; but the treasury and arsenal, with 162 pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the victors.

General Lake's next object was the infantry which had been sent under Dudrenec, by Sindia, to reinforce his army in Hindostan. It consisted of seven battalions, and arrived from the Deccan about the beginning of October. This body had

been joined by three of Bourquin's battalions, not engaged at the battle of Delhi, and by some of the fugitives from Delhi and Agra, who were formed into two battalions, the whole consisting of 12 strong battalions, and amounting to about 9,000 men. They had a very superior equipment of artillery, were accompanied by 1,200 or 1,500 good horse, and during the siege of Agra had occupid a position about 30 miles distant from the British army. The commander was a Mahratta officer,* Dudrenec having surrendered to the English on the 30th October. It was understood that they intended to march on Delhi for the recovery of the capital. General Lake with a strong force proceeded in quest of them on the 27th of October; but as he advanced they retired towards the hills of Mewat. On the 31st of October General Lake, on arriving at the ground which they had occupied the preceding day, determined, in order to prevent their escape, to pursue them with his cavalry, now consisting of eight regiments, three of which were European dragoos. He accordingly moved off at eleven o'clock that night, directing the infantry to follow at three o'clock next morning. After a march of 25 miles he came up with them at sunrise of the 1st November. On descrying the Mahratta infantry they appeared in

October 27—31.

November 1.

* I have not ascertained who this officer was; he is called Abajee by Major Thorn, but I regret not having obtained more satisfactory information respecting him. It was perhaps one of Ambajee Inglia's carcoons.

motion, and, supposing them to be on full retreat, Lake ordered on the cavalry to impede them by an immediate attack. The Mahrattas, however, had time to form, and, instead of being found on the retreat, they had taken up a strong position, their right on the village of Laswaree, partially protected by a deep ravine, and their left resting on the village of Mohaulpore. To their rear was a deep rivulet, and their front was lined with 75 pieces of cannon, chained together the more effectually to resist the charge of horse. The whole were concealed by very high grass. The different brigades of cavalry, particularly that under Colonel Macan, executed the orders they had received in the most spirited manner; but the opposition with which they had to contend was formidable in the extreme, and their loss was very great; in so much that General Lake was compelled to desist from this hazardous attack, and await the arrival of the infantry. The Mahratta troops, in the meantime, changed their position, and drew up in two lines—the one in front, the other in rear, of the village of Mohaulpore. Their commander, on seeing the approach of the British infantry, offered to surrender his guns on certain conditions which were accepted, and one hour was allowed to fulfil the terms; but at the end of that time General Lake prepared to renew the attack. The British infantry consisted of the 76th regiment and six battalions of Bengal sepoys. Of three brigades of cavalry one was directed to support the infantry; another was detached to the right to watch the enemy,

and take advantage of any confusion that might appear among them; and a third brigade formed the reserve. The whole of the artillery was thrown into four batteries to support the attack of the infantry. General Lake's was to turn the right of the enemy's position, for which purpose he moved off with the infantry in open column of companies, along the bank of the rivulet, which was nearly at right angles to the enemy's new position. For a time the march of the British troops was concealed by the high grass, but the Mahrattas no sooner discerned them, than they perceived the general's intention, which they immediately frustrated by throwing back their left wing, covering the movement with a heavy cannonade, which did serve execution on the front of the British column. The British artillery returned the fire with good effect; but the enemy's cannon were far superior in number and weight of metal, and equally well served. The ground was much broken, the advance greatly impeded by that circumstance, and the ranks of the 76th were so much thinned, that General Lake, who now, as on every occasion, was foremost in the battle, deemed it advisable to hasten on the attack with that regiment, and one battalion and five companies of sepoys who had closed to the front. When they arrived within reach of the cannister shot, the fire and the execution became so extremely severe, that it prevented a regular advance, and the Mahratta horse were encouraged to charge. They came on, but were repulsed most heroically; again they rallied, and assumed so menacing a

position, that General Lake ordered the British cavalry to charge in turn. This service was gallantly performed by the 29th dragoons,* who dashed through both lines of the enemy's infantry, wheeled round upon their cavalry, killed many of the latter, drove them from the field, and, turning round, fell upon the rear of their second line. That line was by this time hotly engaged with the British infantry, which, having taken advantage of the gallant charge of their cavalry, had rushed forward on the guns, taken possession of them, and driven the first line back on the second. The whole of the British troops had now come up and joined in the attack; but the hardy veterans of De Boigne determined to die where they could not conquer, fought on with brave though unavailing obstinacy, and, excepting about 2,000 who were broken, surrounded, and made prisoners, they fell with their arms in their hands! Few, if any, of those men were natives of Maharashtra; they were chiefly from Oude, Rohilcund, and the Dooab, for, except Sivajee's Mawulees, and men trained in the ranks of the Bombay sepoys,† the native Mahrattas have never made good infantry.

* When forming for the charge on the flank of the infantry the 76th, with the same spirit which distinguished the 74th at the battle of Assaye, gave them three cheers.

† The men of this description are remarkably quiet and sober, patient under privation, and good soldiers; they used to be more apt to desert than any other men, but that was probably owing to circumstances no longer in existence.

The victory of Laswaree cost the English army 824 men in killed and wounded, but it completed the overthrow of the brigades of De Boigne and Perron, and placed Agra and Delhi, with all Sindia's districts north of the Chumbul, in the power of the British government.

While success thus attended the British arms in Maharashtra and in Hindostan, a force commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Harcourt invaded Kuttack. Manikpatam was taken possession of without resistance on the 14th September. The Bramins of the temple of Jaggernaut placed it under the protection of the British government, and the town of Kuttack was surrendered on the 10th October. A detachment under Captain Morgan occupied Ballasore on the 21st September, and took Soorrung on the 3rd October. The storm of the fort of Barabuttee on the 14th October, by the troops under Colonel Harcourt, completed the conquest of the province of Kuttack.

The conquest of Boundelcund was effected with equal celerity. In regard to this province, a new arrangement had been made with the Peishwa in the month of August, by which the greater part of his rights in it was ceded to the English company, in lieu of Savanoor and Benkapoor in the southern Mahratta country, and Oolpar in the neighbourhood of Surat—all of which were included in the cessions made by the treaty of Bassein, and yielded an annual revenue of 19,16,000 rupees. The nominal revenue of Bundelcund was 36,16,000 rupees, but the state of the country rendered the first mentioned cessions

of much greater value to the Peishwa; whilst to the British, Bundelcund, from its situation in the neighbourhood of their position on the Jumna, and their means of rendering its revenues available, was extremely important. The British government, in consideration of the advantages thus derived, agreed to maintain a body of 5,000 Mahratta horse during the continuance of the war, and to keep a regiment of cavalry, in addition to the 6,000 infantry, on the permanent establishment of the Poona subsidiary force; whilst from the Peishwa, instead of 6,000 infantry and 10,000 horse, only half of that number was to be required. This arrangement was afterwards regularly recognized, and the treaty drawn up in consequence of it, under date 16th December 1803, was termed supplemental articles to the treaty of Bassein.

The Gosaeen Himmut Buhadur had tendered his services to the British government to assist them in the conquest of Bundelcund; and his offer being now accepted, he joined the British detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Powell, on the 16th September, with a large body of troops. Colonel Powell had crossed the Jumna ten days before. The united forces, after reducing various forts, crossed the river Cane on the 10th October. On the 13th they found the army of Shumsher Buhadur drawn up to oppose them; but after a feeble resistance they gave way, fled across the river Betwah, and evacuated the province.

We now return to the contending armies in the Deccan.

As soon as the confederates found that General Wellesley had not passed the Ghaut, but was moving south towards Aurungabad, and that Colonel Stevenson had marched against Burhanpoor, they made preparations for following and interrupting him in that object. General Wellesley, learning their design, immediately returned north, and descended the Ajunta

October 19.

Ghaut. Sindia, on finding that General Wellesley had returned, halted, but Rughoojee Bhonslay, who had separated from his confederate, marched to the southward by the Unkye Tunkye pass. General Wellesley, therefore, in order to protect the territory of the Nizam, reascended the Ajunta, and continued his route beyond Aurungabad, until he arrived in the neighbourhood of the camp of Rughoojee, who was so apprehensive of a night attack that he moved camp five times in less than 48 hours. On the 31st Rughoojee detached 5,000 horse

October 31.

to cut off a convoy of 14,000 bullock-loads of grain, escorted by three companies of sepoys and a party of Mysore horse, under Captain Baynes, who made a judicious and spirited defence at the village of Amber, and brought in the whole of his convoy safe, with the exception of about 200 bullocks. After this event General Wellesley, finding that Rughoojee was moving towards his own territories, once more returned to the northward, and descended the Ghauts at Rajoora, for the purpose of supporting and covering Colonel Stevenson, whom he had ordered to form the siege of Gawelgurh.

Previously to this period, several propositions for peace had been made to General Wellesley in Sindia's name. Ballajee Koonjur, the Peishwa's most confidential agent, who, notwithstanding the war, continued in Sindia's camp, sent a letter 15 days after the battle of Assaye, requesting that one of the British and one of the Nizam's officers should be sent to Sindia's camp to settle terms of pacification; but as he was not an accredited agent, and as the appearance of a British officer in Sindia's camp would have enabled the Mahrattas to represent the British nation as supplicants for peace, General Wellesley refused compliance, but expressed his readiness to receive any envoy the confederates might depute. Another communication was opened through Appa Dessaye Nepankur, who was serving with the Peishwa's contingent, and the result was that Jeswunt Rao Ghorepuray, accompanied by a Bramin named Naroo Punt, arrived in General Wellesley's camp on the part of Sindia for the purpose of negotiating; but as they also were unprovided with credentials, General Wellesley refused to treat until they should obtain them from Sindia. That chief, in the meantime, sent a letter, disavowing Jeswunt Rao Ghorepuray's mission; but, notwithstanding this disavowal, General Wellesley was convinced, from a letter addressed by Sindia to Appa Dessaye, that Ghorepuray had been deputed, and therefore permitted him to remain in his camp until a reply to his first reference should be received. A few hours after the interview in question, powers arrived for constituting

Ghorepuray and his companion the envoys of Sindia, but they were essentially defective, as they did not enable the envoys to cede any portion of territory as compensation to the British government and its allies, which was required as the basis of the pacification. Until this authority could be obtained, Ghorepuray solicited a cessation of arms for both the confederates. It was granted to Sindia on the 23rd November, on condition that he should occupy a position 20 *kos* east of Elichpoor, and forage still further to the eastward ; but it was refused to Rughoojee Bhonslay, because he had sent no envoy, nor expressed any desire for peace.

The conditions, however, on which General Wellesley agreed to a suspension of hostilities were not observed by Sindia ; Rughoojee Bhonslay's army was encamped at Argaom, near Gawelgurh, under his brother Venkajee Munya Bappoo, and Sindia's cavalry were at Sersowly, within about five miles of him. Venkajee, besides cavalry, had the whole of his brother's infantry, and a cosiderable number of guns. The wukeels of Sindia urgently dissuaded the British commander from attacking Venkajee. General Wellesley told them repeatedly that there was no armistice with Rughoojee Bhonslay, and none with Sindia, until he complied with the terms of the agreement. Colonel Stevenson was by this time within a short distance of the confederates, and on the 28th November halted to enable General Wellesley to co-operate in the expected battle. The confederates decamped from the position they had

chiefs to be consulted by the Peishwa before he could make a treaty; and, in regard to interfering between Sindia and Holkar on account of the weakness of the former, admitting the fact to have been so, it was, General Wellesley observed, an extraordinary mode of strengthening Sindia and weakening Holkar to transfer to the latter all the territories of the Holkar family. In short, after a long argument as to the merits of the war, and a still longer discussion respecting the terms of the pacification, it was finally agreed on the 17th December that Rughoojee Bhonslay, Sena Sahib Soobeh, should cede to the British government and its allies the province of Kuttack, including Ballasore, and the whole of his territory and shares of revenue to the westward of the river Wurdah, and south of the hills on which stand Nurnalla and Gawelgurh. The forts of Nurnalla and Gawelgurh remained in Rughoojee Bhonslay's possession, together with districts lying south of those forts, valued at four lakhs of rupees. All claims on the Nizam, including of course chouth, ghas-dana, etc., were renounced; all differences between the Nizam, the Peishwa, and the Sena Sahib Soobeh were to be arbitrated by the British Government; and no European or American of a nation at war with the English, or any British subject, was to be entertained without the consent of the British government. Such was the substance of the principal articles of the treaty of Deogaom. Accredited ministers from each of the contracting parties were to reside at the court of the other; and the

December 17.

Hon'ble M. Elphinstone, at that time Persian interpreter on the staff of General Wellesley's army, was appointed to act as resident at Nagpoor.

The negotiations with Sindia were not so promptly terminated. Doulut Rao endeavoured by every means to avoid making the cessions which the British government demanded as the basis of a pacification: and it was not until assured that his compliance was the only means of averting the entire conquest of his territories, that he at length assented. The treaty was concluded at Surjee Anjengaom on the 30th December, and Sindia ceded to the British government and its allies his territory between the Jumna and Ganges, and all situated to the northward of the Rajpoot principalities of Jeypoor, Joudpoor, and Gohud; but the territory lying between Jeypoor and Joudpoor, and to the southward of the former place, was reserved. The forts of Ahmednagur and Baroach, with their districts, his possessions between the Ajunta Ghaut and the Godavery, and all claims on the emperor of the Moghuls, the British government or its allies, the Peishwa, the Nizam, and the Gaekwar, were renounced by Sindia: he also gave up all claims upon such rajas or jagheerdars as might have become allies of the British government during the war, and declared them independent of his authority. Sindia entered into the same agreement in regard to Europeans and Americans, and to residents of the courts, as had been admitted by Rughoojee Bhonslay: Major Malcolm was appointed to act as resident

December 30.

in his camp. The city of Burhanpoor, the forts of Asseerghur, Pawungurh, and Dohud, with their dependent districts, conquered by the British government during the war, were restored to Sindia. The enams granted to Mahadajee Sindia by the emperor, namely, the district of Dholpoor-Baree and Rajkerrah, situated to the northward of the prescribed limits, and ceriain jagheers belonging to the family, or to immediate dependents of Sindia were restored; and the British government likewise promised jagheers, or pensions in lieu of them, amounting to 15 lakhs of rupees annually, to some other persons in Sindia's service. All enam villages, lands, or wutun obtained by Sindia and his predecessors, within the territories ceded, were to be restored to him and to the respective owners; but no troops were permitted to be kept in such places, either to the north or south of Sindia's own territory. Finally, the British government left it in the option of Sindia to become a party to the defensive alliance, offering him a subsidiary force, payable from the revenues of the territories already ceded, whether furnished or not. In conformity with this article in the treaty of Surjee Anjengaom, a new treaty was afterwards concluded with Sindia at Burhanpoor, on the 27th February 1804, by Major Malcolm, empowered for that purpose by General Wellesley. Sindia then agreed to become a party to the defensive alliance, and a subsidiary force of 6,000 infantry, with their artillery, was to be stationed near his boundary, but within the British territory.

Of the conquests thus gained from the confederates, by subsequent partition treaties between the British government and its allies, the Nizam and the Peishwa, the province of Kuttack including Ballasore, the pergunna and fort of Baroach, the districts conquered from Sindia north of the Rajpoot states, the territory along the bank of the Jumna, and between that river and the Ganges, were assigned to the British government. The whole tract west of the Wurdah, eastward of the Peishwa's frontier, and southward of the range of hills on which stand Nurnalla and Gawelgurh, down as far as the Godavery, was made over to the Nizam. The Peishwa having failed to afford the aid which was in the power, and having in other respects profited largely by the war, the fort and district of Ahmednugur was the only portion reserved as his share of the conquests.

The princes and chiefs who, by treaties with General Lake, had become the allies of the British government, were the rajas of Jeypoor, Joudpoor, Boondee, and Macherry, the Jath raja of Bhurtpoor, the rana of Gohud, and the Mahratta officer Ambajee Inglia. The agreements with the Rajpoots and the raja of Bhurtpoor specify the guarantee of their territory against external enemies, an exemption from tribute, and the aid of their forces in the event of any invasion of the country lately conquered by the British; Europeans not to be received into their service without the consent of the British government. With respect to the rana of Gohud and Ambajee Inglia, with

whom treaties were also made, it will be recollected that Mahadajee Sindia conquered the Gohud territory in 1784, and since that period it had been held by that chieftain and his successor. Ambajee Inglia, whom we have seen appointed successor to Perron, was mamlitdar of the province of Gohud, and after seeing the rapid conquest of Hindostan, revolted, or pretended to revolt, against his master, and joined the English, from whom he obtained by treaty a share of the province of Gohud, which was divided between him and the rana, with the exception of the fort of Gwalior, ceded by the rana to the English. The treaties with the rana of Gohud and Ambajee Inglia were similar to those concluded with the Rajpoots, excepting that the rana of Gohud agreed to subsidize three battalions of sepoys, paying for them at the rate of 75,000 rupees a month. But these two treaties last mentioned afterwards became null and void, for reasons which the progress of our narrative will explain.*

* The above chapter is on the authority of English Records, Marquis Wellesley's narrative, oral information, Mahratta letters and MSS., and Major Thorn's memoir.

CHAPTER XIII.

A.D. 1804.

Reflections on the late war.—Views of Jeswunt Rao Holkar.—Negotiations.—Lord Lake advances against Holkar, preceded by a detachment under Colonel Monson.—Holkar retires across the Chumbul.—Tonk-Rampoorah taken.—Umeer Khan cuts off part of a detachment in Bundelcund.—Lord Lake reinforces Monson, and cantons the main army for the rains.—Monson advances—escalades Hinglaisgurh.—Holkar crosses the Chumbul.—Monson hesitates.—Holkar attacks him.—Monson retreats—bravery—privations—distresses—disasters—and discomfiture of his detachment.—Holkar invades Hindostan.—Muttra evacuated—is repulsed at Delhi.—Defence of Colonel Burn at Shamlee.—Holkar carries his depredations into the Dooab—is pursued by Lord Lake—battle of Deeg—surprise at Furruckabad—storm of Deeg.—Holkar's possessions in the Deccan reduced.—Indore evacuated.—Lord Lake determines on besieging Bhurtpoor.—The raja's resolve.

A.D. 1804.

THE rapidity of the conquests, and the speedy termination of the war, surprised all India, and it was naturally supposed that the astonishing success of the British arms would have deterred any power, however inimically disposed, from evincing a spirit of hostility at such a moment; but the conduct of Asiatics is frequently so capricious that it cannot be foreseen by any reasonable estimate of their interests.

Family rivalry, next to disputes concerning hereditary rights, is always uppermost in the mind of a Mahratta. Jeswunt Rao Holkar, notwithstanding the great sacrifices made by Sindia

to induce him to join the confederacy, could not believe that his rival would forget the defeat and disgrace he had so lately suffered; and he concluded that, in the event of success against the British power, Sindia's first object, after re-establishing his influence at Poona, would be a war of extermination against himself. On the other hand, if the tide should turn against the confederates, he imagined, after the power of Sindia had been reduced to the level of his own, he might not only interpose with safety, but attain a consequence, so much the greater, as it would be manifest, in the event of ultimate success, that it had mainly depended on his exertions. Like all the Holkar family, he was a great advocate for the predatory system of warfare, and conceived that it would have been better for the confederates if they had carefully reserved their infantry and guns under the protection of forts, avoided an action, devastated the company's provinces, and acted with vigour upon General Wellesley's supplies.

Holkar, during the progress of hostilities, remained in Malwa, levying enormous contributions* from friend and foe, and could scarcely credit the accounts he received of the rapid victories of the English. When too late, he began to carry his designs into execution, and moved up towards the Jeypoor territory, for the purpose of negotiating for aid from the Rajpoots, the raja of Bhurtpoor, the Rohillahs, and the Seiks. He

* Sir John Malcolm mentions his having exacted a crore of rupees from the city of Mundissore alone.

likewise despatched an envoy to Sindia, recommending him to break the treaty, and renew the war; but that chieftain was, or pretended to be at the moment, so exasperated against him, that he immediately communicated the fact to the British authority. Some of his ministers, especially his father-in-law, Shirzee Rao Ghatgay, had more confidence in Holkar, and advised Sindia, notwithstanding the communication to the British resident, to despatch a wukeel to the camp of Jeswunt Rao, for the purpose, as they gave out, of ascertaining his designs but in reality to leave open the door of reconciliation, in case the project of Holkar, in whose wisdom and fortune all the Mahrattas began to have great confidence, should prove worthy of regard.

The principal part of the British armies in the Deccan, after the termination of hostilities, retired to the southward, and two considerable divisions were stationed, the one at Jaffeirabad, to ensure the tranquillity of the country and its occupation by the Nizam, and the other at Poona, with the Peishwa, whose territory was a good deal molested by plundering insurgents and freebooters, which is usually the case in India after the close of the war.

The army in Hindostan under General Lake was still in the field to watch the motions of Holkar, whose manacing position, as well as the tone of his language, the general report of his hostile intentions, and his having put to death three officers, British subjects, who wished, in consequence of these reports, to take advantage of the

governor general's proclamation and retire from his service, afforded strong indications of an approching rupture. Superadded to these were the machinations already mentioned, which were ascertained from his intercepted correspondence; but it was scarcely credible that he could intend risking a war, and General Lake believed to the last that affairs with Holkar would be amicably adjusted. In Holkar's letters to General Lake, as is frequently the case when insolence is designed on the part of a Mahratta, it is difficult to discover whether friendly profession, arrogance, or humility predominate. In his first letter, professing that he had no intention of saying anything improper, he requested General Lake to retire towards Agra, "as his near approach to his victorious army appeared likely to produce unpleasant circumstances." In his next he declares that from him the general shall never have any other language than that of friendship; "but if anything contrary to friendship shall appear from you, then I am helpless." At length it became absolutely necessary to ascertain the designs of Holkar, and the governor general directed General Lake to intimate to him the necessity of withdrawing his troops from the frontier of the allies of the British government. Whatever claims might be urged by the Holkar family against the Rajpoots and others, such claims, he was told, could not be considered to rest in him; but the British Government was willing with the consent of the Peishwa, to arbitrate the existing difference between him and his

brother Khassee Rao, on principles of equity and justice: Jeswunt Rao was also invited to send wukeels to the British camp. To these proposals Holkar replied by promising to withdraw his troops; and in the middle of March sent wukeels to General Lake's camp at Ramgurh. These persons produced a letter from Holkar, in which, after many friendly professions, he recommends the general to consent to the propositions they would offer, otherwise "his country and his property were on the saddle of his horse; to whatever side the reins of his brave

March 18.

warriors should be turned, the whole of the country in that direction should come into his possession." The wukeels submitted the following propositions:—"1st, that Holkar should be permitted to collect chouth agreeably to the custom of his ancestors; 2nd, that the ancient possessions formerly held by the family, such as Etaweh, &c., 12 districts between the Ganges and Jumna, and a district in Bundelcund, should be ceded to him; 3rd, that the country of Hurriana, which was formerly in the possession of the family, should be given to him; 4th, that the country then in his possession should be guaranteed, and a treaty should be concluded with him on the same terms as that with Sindia." These demands were altogether extravagant, and were treated as such by General Lake. Most of these countries, mentioned in the second and third propositions, had been conquered from Sindia; Etaweh had not been in the possession of the Mahrattas since their garrisons were driven out by Shujah-ud-Doulah, after the recall of the

Peishwa's general, Visajee Kishen, in 1773, and had been ceded in 1801 by the nabob of Oude to the East India Company. The wukeels proceeded, in a high strain of menace, to exaggerate the power of Holkar, and the value of the connections, hostile to the British government, which he had formed. General Lake replied "that it was not customary with the English to boast of their power, but that Holkar would find, in the event of a rupture, that he had much overvalued his own." General Lake also took occasion to mention to the wukeels that their propositions and their language were so much at variance with the tenor of Holkar's letters, that no judgment could be formed of his real wishes and intentions. On the ensuing day the wukeels attended to receive a reply to the letter they had brought from Holkar, when they solicited a grant of some country, or an annual sum in lieu of an increase of country, and asked whether or not Holkar was to be allowed to collect the customary tribute from the states of Oudepoor and Kotah. To all which General Lake merely replied that Holkar must first evince his friendly intentions by returning into his own country before the British government could be enabled to enter upon a discussion of any claims.

Five or six weeks before the despatch of these wukeels to General Lake, Jeswunt Rao Holkar had addressed a letter to General Wellesley, in which he demanded from him certain districts claimed by his family in the Deccan as the condition of peace, and concluded in a strain of the most vaunting menace, in case by non-compliance it should be rendered necessary to resort to war.

In the beginning of April Holkar repaired on pretence of devotion to Ajmere, belonging to Sindia, where he levied contributions, and made an unsuccessful attempt to possess himself of the fort; but he justified these acts to Sindia's wukeel as necessary to enable him to prosecute a war, involving the independence of the Mahrattas. A great portion of his army remained on the frontier of the Jeypoor territory, where they commenced plundering.

In the meanwhile the governor general having been made acquainted with Holkar's demands, and apprehending many evils from continuing to temporize, issued orders to General Lake and General Wellesley to attack Holkar's troops and possessions in every direction, declaring at the same time that it was not his intention to retain Holkar's territories for the British government, but to divide them amongst its allies.

April 16.

General Wellesley was at this period at Bombay, and, in consequence of a famine in the Deccan from a deficiency of rain, superadded to the devastations occasioned by the moving armies and plundering bands by which that country had been for years infested, it was apprehended that it would be impracticable to act against Holkar's possessions in that quarter until the fall of the rains; but General Wellesley directed Colonel Murray to assail them from Guzerat, and to advance upon his capital in Malwa. Sindia, who was informed of these particulars, professed his readiness to act in cordial co-operation for the reduction of Jeswunt Rao.

On the 18th April General Lake sent forward a detachment of three native battalions under Colonel Monson to Jeypoor, on which Holkar began to retire rapidly to the southward. Parties of irregular horse under European officers followed his march, to watch his motions and harass his troops. Holkar having halted for two days, General Lake advanced upon him, preceded by Lieutenant-Colonel Monson's detachment, but Holkar renewed his flight, and continued his route until he had gained his own frontier, and crossed the Chumbul. During his retreat he made an attempt to renew the negotiation, which was declared inadmissible. He was followed by the irregular horse and Lieutenant-Colonel Monson, covered by General Lake's army from which a detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Don gallantly stormed and took the fort of Tonk-Rampoorah by blowing open the gate.

April 18—23.

May 16.

The news of this first success in the war against Holkar was shortly afterwards followed by intelligence of a different description from the province of Bundelcund, where the refractory chiefs in that strong country occupied the troops for a considerable period after its transfer to the British government. Lieutenant-Colonel Fawcett, the officer in command, had detached seven companies of sepoys, with some artillery, for the purpose of reducing a small fort. Whilst operations against it were in progress, the killidar sent out an offer to surrender on the ensuing morning, on condition that the firing should cease. The proposal being accepted, the killidar apprized

Holkar's general, Umeer Khan, of the circumstances, and invited him to send a detachment, and fall by surprise on the British troops. In this scheme they were partially successful; the horse approached the battery before they were discovered and two companies of sepoys with 50 artillerymen, their officers and guns, were completely cut off. The remaining five companies under Captain Smith, supported by their only remaining gun, effected their retreat to the head-quarters of Lieutenant-Colonel Fawcett. Umeer Khan, encouraged by this success, made an attack on Kalpee, and attempted to pass the Jumna, for the purpose of plundering the Dooab, but he was checked by two companies of sepoys stationed on the bank, and was shortly afterwards attacked and routed by a party of horse and a battalion of infantry, which had been received into the British pay from the service of Ambajee Inglia. Umeer Khan, however, continued to act for some time on the side of Bundelcund, where the numerous refractory zumeendars facilitated the means of predatory warfare.

In the meantime, as the rains approached, and the troops in Guzerat, in concert with those of Sindia, were supposed best capable of acting with advantage against Holkar's possessions during that season, General Lake, after the capture of Tonk-Rampoorah, returned with the main army into cantonment, leaving Lieutenant-Colonel Monson to keep Holkar in check, with five battalions of sepoys and about 3,000 irregular horse—the latter divided into two bodies, the

one under Bappoojee Sindia, in the service of Doulut Rao, and the other under Lieutenant Lucan. After the return of General Lake, Monson, intending to co-operate with Colonel Murray from Guzerat, entered Holkar's territory by the Mokundra pass, and a detachment from his division took the hill-fort of Hinglaisgurh by escalade. Without efficient means of supply, he continued his route towards the Chumbul until the 7th July, when he received information that Holkar was crossing that river to attack him with the whole of his army, including his infantry and guns. Monson, who, shortly after his appointment to his present command, was nominated to the temporary rank of Brigadier-General by the British commander-in-chief, at first advanced with the intention of meeting the enemy, and of taking advantage of their probable confusion in crossing the river. But staggered by a report that Colonel Murray intended to fall back on Guzerat, he began to reflect that he had only two days' grain for the supply of his camp, and that several detachments might be expected to join him; he therefore determined to retire to the Mokundra pass. A prompt and spirited attack on Mahrattas has always succeeded: indecision on the part of their enemy encourages them to fight when they would otherwise only think of escape, and a prolonged retreat before them, except in the single instance of the British detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Jacob Camac, has invariably ended in disaster.

Having adopted the unfortunate alternative

we have mentioned, Brigadier-General Monson, on the 8th July, began his retreat by
July 8. sending off his baggage and stores at four o'clock in the morning. No enemy having appeared, the line of infantry followed at nine, and the irregular horse were left on the ground, with orders to follow in half an hour, and to send the earliest intelligence of Holkar's motions. The division had retired about six *kos*, when intelligence was brought that the irregular horse had been attacked and defeated, and that Lieutenant Lucan* was taken prisoner. This information, it may be here observed, was brought by Doulut Rao's officer, Bappoojee Sindia, who in a few days afterwards deserted to Holkar. On the ensuing morning,
July 9—11. however, Monson took post in front of the Mokundra pass. On the 10th the Mahratta cavalry appeared, and next morning, their numbers having greatly increased, Holkar sent a letter requiring the surrender of the arms of the British detachment. The demand was of course rejected; when Holkar, dividing his cavalry into three bodies, attacked the division in front and flanks, but after various unsuccessful attempts, he withdrew his troops in the evening, and encamped at the distance of two *kos*, where, being joined by his infantry and guns,

* Lieutenant Lucan's fate was never positively known. He was supposed to have been poisoned, but this I have heard contradicted on tolerably good native authority, which stated that he died of a bowel complaint. The authority alluded to was Mohummud Khan Bungush, one of Holkar's officers, taken in rebellion by Colonel Wallace in 1808.

he intended, as was supposed, to renew the attack on the following morning. Monson not deeming his post tenable, and being apprehensive of having his retreat cut off, quitted his position, and in two marches, though harrassed by the enemy and exposed to very heavy rain, reached Kotah. The raj-rana of Kotah, when the British troops appeared as fugitives, would neither admit them into the town nor supply them with food;* Brigadier-General Monson was therefore obliged to continue his route towards the Gaumuch ford on the Chumbul. Although its distance from Kotah was only seven miles, the obstructions occasioned by the incessant rain, and the deep nature of the soil, prevented his reaching the expected ford until next morning, when it was found impassable until the ensuing day. On the 14th Monson was obliged to halt to enable the troops to procure some grain; heavy rain continued throughout the night. On the 15th he resumed his march, but the guns sank so deep in the mud that they could not be extricated. The grain in the adjoining village was exhausted—retreat was now necessary to procure subsistance; the ammunition was therefore destroyed, and the

July 12.

July 13, 14.

* Monson's narrative as published by government. The raj-rana, Zalim Sing, afterwards denied his having refued them food, and said he had offered them an asylum outside the walls; but allowing this last to have been true, Colonel Monson, by accepting such an equivocal support, might have exposed his detachment to certain destruction between two fires. It is however certain that Zalim Sing was fined ten lakhs of rupees by Holkar, whilst the latter lay in the neighbourhood of Kotah.

guns were spiked and abandoned; but they were recommended to the care of the raja of Boondee, who, although he could not save the guns, had the courage to maintain his engagements with the English in the face of
July 17. the host of Holkar. On the 17th the troops reached the Chumbelee rivulet, which was not fordable, but Monson, on the ensuing day, sent his artillerymen across on elephants, with orders to proceed to the fort of Rampoorah. Nearly ten days elapsed before the whole of the troops—some on elephants, some on rafts, and some by being sent to a ford farther down—could cross this rivulet, so greatly was it swollen. During that time they sustained much privation; in different situations they repulsed several persevering attacks which were made upon them by Holkar's cavalry; and a detachment of flank companies, under Captain O'Donell, beat up the camp of a large body of the enemy on the evening of the 21st July, with great spirit and success. Many of the
July 21. men were drowned in crossing the Chumbelee; but the most trying to the poor sepoys of all that they endured, was the loss of many of their wives and children, who, being in some instances necessarily left on the opposite bank till the last, were, in this helpless and unprotected state, in view and within hearing of their husbands, barbarously massacred by Bheels from the neighbouring hills, who were in the interests of Holkar.

By the 29th July the whole of the corps of the

division reached Rampoorah, and here Brigadier-General Monson was joined by two battalions of sepoys with four field pieces, two howitzers, and a body of irregular horse, bringing with them a supply of grain. This reinforcement had been ordered forward by General Lake as soon as he was apprized of the situation of the detachment at the Mokundra pass; but Brigadier-General Monson, not judging his supplies sufficient, after a long and apparently unnecessary halt, determined to continue his retreat to Kooshalgurh, where he expected to find supplies, and to be joined by six of Sindia's battalions with 21 guns, under Sewdasheo Bhow Bhaskur, the officer defeated by Holkar at Poona in October 1802. After throwing a strong garrison with his field-pieces into Rampoorah, the division, consisting of five battalions and six companies of Bengal sepoys,* with two howitzers on the morning of the 22nd August, reached the Bunass, which was so much swollen as to be scarcely fordable for the largest elephants. Three boats were found, with which the treasure of the detachment, protected by the six companies of the 21st regiment under Captain Nicholl, were sent across and forwarded to Kooshalgurh. On the 23rd August Holkar's cavalry again made their appearance in force, and on the 24th, the river being fordable, Brigadier-General Monson began to send over his baggage and one battalion. Holkar at the same time, took possession of a

August 23, 24.

* 2-2nd, 1-9th, 1-14th, both battalions of the 12th, and six companies of the 21st Bengal native infantry.

village on Monson's right, but was promptly dislodged from it. The river having decreased considerably, the Mahrattas were enabled to pass it to the right and left, and most of Monson's baggage having got across, his main body, consisting of three battalions with one of the howitzers, followed. Major James Sinclair was left with one battalion, the 2nd battalion, 2nd regiment, and the pickets of the four corps which had crossed, to protect the passage of the remaining baggage and camp-followers. At 4 P. M., however, Holkar's infantry and guns came up, and opened a heavy cannonade. Major Sinclair desperately charged the guns with the small party that remained, took several of them, and for a moment was victorious; but the enemy, rallied by Jeswunt Rao Holkar in person, charged in turn with overpowering numbers, and the gallant handful of sepoys was nearly annihilated. Of the brave European officers who led them on, 12 fell with their commander, and the wreck of the party escaped under cover of the fire of their comrades, who lined the opposite bank. The Mahrattas, as usual in success, were now active and energetic; they prosecuted the advantage which they had obtained, and compelled Monson to abandon his baggage, which, with their usual avidity, they seized as trophies of a decisive victory. But the British detachment could yet show they were far from being subdued; every attack was repulsed, and Colonel Monson reached Kooshalgurh on the night of the 25th August. Here a most unexpected state of affairs

August 25.

presented itself; instead of finding an ally in Sewdashew Bhow, that officer had attacked Captain Nicholl, who had, with much judgment and spirit, maintained his post, and protected Kooshalgurh, a town belonging to the raja of Jeypoor. On the 26th August the Mahratta cavalry encamped in separate bodies, surrounding the British detachment; and two companies of sepoys, belonging to the 1st battalion, 14th regiment, with a large proportion of the irregular horse, seduced by Holkar, deserted. Of the cause of this partial disaffection there is no account afforded, but for the treachery of the few, the general fidelity and steadiness of the detachment, most amply made amends.* Unfortunately, Brigadier-General Monson did not know the sepoys; they had no confidence in him, nor he in them. At seven o'clock on the evening of the 26th August, having previously, spiked his remaining howitzer, the other having been taken by the enemy on the bank of the Bunass, Brigadier-General Monson moved out of Kooshalgurh, and prosecuted his retreat towards Agra in an oblong square. During that night and the ensuing day the Mahratta horse, supported by guns, repeatedly attempted to penetrate, but could make no impression. On the night of the 27th, under the protection of the ruined fort of Hindoun, Monson halted a few hours to refresh his weary men, but one hour

August 27.

* During the most harassing days many of the old sepoys and native officers were often heard encouraging the younger European officers, when sinking under the fatigues telling them "to cheer up, for that they would carry them safely to Agra."

after midnight his retreat was resumed. As soon as he had cleared the ravines near Hindoun, the horse in three different bodies made a desperate charge; but the sepoys, reserving their fire until they were almost within reach of their bayonets, then gave it with such signal effect that the enemy retired in every direction. The troops almost exhausted with fatigue and hunger, reached the Biana pass about sunset; here Brigadier-General Monson intended to halt during the night, but the ardent and persevering enemy once more brought up their guns, and opened so heavy and severe a fire on the exhausted troops as to oblige them to go on as they best could. But weary, and harassed beyond endurance, the baggage having become entangled with the line of march, and the night being excessively dark, no order could be restored, and the whole were thrown into inextricable confusion. In this state the troops fairly broke, and fled towards Agra. The enemy, though they attacked in straggling parties, fortunately were not in sufficient force to reap the full advantage they might have done,
August 31. and by the 31st August, the greater part of the fugitives, who escaped the enemy, found an asylum at Agra.

Holkar, at the head of 60,000 horse,* 15,000 infantry and artillery, with 192 guns, advanced

* So stated by Sir John Malcolm, who, in regard to Jeswunt Rao Holkar, is our best authority. To account for this vast body, it must be recollected that he was recruited by the wreck of the armies of Sindia and Rughoojee Bhonslay, and a part, no doubt, were Pindharees.

triumphantly to Muttra, which at his approach was abandoned by the British troops; and parties of the Mahratta horse pushed across the Jumna. But General Lake, with his acccustomed energy, had already taken measures for repairing the disasters. The Mahrattas who crossed the Jumna were driven back, troops were ordered on to Agra with all expedition, and the British army, in the course of a month, again advanced on the Mahrattas. In a few days the Mahratta horse began in their usual manner, they show themselves in small parties, gradually increasing in numbers, flying before the British cavalry when sent to pursue them, evading every attempt to bring them to action, turning as their pursuers turned, firing their matchlocks, and brandishing their spears; whilst others stole in upon the flanks and rear, where they at first cut off stragglers and baggage with considerable success. The cruelties committed by Holkar on all who fell into his hands were barbarous in the extreme. It is probable that General Lake, instead of making fruitless attempts from a standing camp to bring Holkar's cavalry to action, would have pushed at his infantry and guns, but he seems to have remained at Muttra for the purpose of collecting supplies, which afforded Holkar an opportunity of attempting an important enterprize being no less than that of endeavouring to possess himself of the emperor's person. The plan was well conceived, but it was completely frustrated by the precaution and gallantry of Lieutenant-Colonel Ochterlony, the resident at Delhi, assisted

October 4—12.

by Lieutenant-Colonel Burn, the commandant. The whole of the enemy's infantry and artillery attacked Delhi, on the 8th, and continued

October 8—14. the siege until the 14th, during which, though deserted by a party of irregulars attached to the garrison, a small body of British sepoys, ably commanded,* made a successful sortie, repelled an assault, and under incessant fatigue defended a city ten miles in circumference.

General Lake, on hearing of this attack, marched to the relief of the capital, and arrived there on the 18th October; but it was

October 18. Holkar's plan to keep his infantry out of reach, and they were already five days on their march towards the territory of his ally the raja of Bhurtpoor, who in favor of his old friends the Mahrattas, particularly the family of Holkar, had seceded from his engagements with the English, notwithstanding the great advantage which he derived from their alliance. Holkar's cavalry, except a few thousands who accompanied the march of his infantry, continued to hover round Delhi for some days; but on the 29th of October suddenly crossed the Jumna below Panniput, for the purpose of cutting off a detachment under

* In regard to sepoys, it cannot be too well understood that much depends on their European officers; no officers in the British service can be placed in situations where more address, suavity, and firmness are necessary; consequently none are more deserving of consideration from their country; but officers must also remember that it is generally their own fault when confidence is not mutual. To encourage the sepoys on this occasion, Colonel Ochterlony served out sweetmeats, and promised them half a month's pay as soon as the enemy was repulsed. He knew them.

Lieutenant-Colonel Burn, who, after being called in for the defence of Delhi, was on his return to his station at Sehraunpoor, with one battalion of sepoys and some matchlockmen, when he was overtaken by Holkar at Shamlee. He formed his camp into a square, which, towards evening the enemy surrounded, but drew off in the night to the high road leading to Sehraunpoor, which enabled Colonel Burn to throw his party into a small gurhee near the town, where he resolved to defend himself if he could procure supplies, and, if not, to fight his way back to Delhi. In consequence of the hostility evinced towards him by the inhabitants of Shamlee, who joined Holkar in attacking him, he had determined to adopt the latter alternative, when he heard that General Lake, with three regiments of dragoons, three regiments of native cavalry, the horse artillery, and a brigade of infantry under Colonel Don, was marching to his relief. General Lake arrived at Shamlee on the 3rd November; Holkar retired on his approach, and now prepared to execute his long-meditated threat of wasting the company's provinces with fire and sword. To leave him no time for the purpose was now the object of the British general; and on the 5th November the pursuit of Holkar commenced; his route lay in a southerly direction, straight down the Dooab, in which he pillaged and burned the defenceless villages as he passed along.

The British infantry, excepting the brigade under Lieutenant-Colonel Don, was sent with two regiments of cavalry by General Lake, when

he crossed the Jumna, to follow Holkar's infantry and guns, which had taken post near Deeg, a fort belonging to the raja of Bhurtpoor. Major-General Frazer, who commanded, arrived in the neighbourhood of Deeg on the 12th November. Holkar's infantry was encamped behind an extensive morass and a deep tank, with their left on a fortified village, and their right on the fort of Deeg, supported by ranges of battaries, which they deemed impregnable. On the morning of the 13th the British troops, in two lines, moved on to the attack; the gallant 76th first carried the fortified village with their bayonets, and finding a range of guns, immediately under it, charged on through a tremendous fire of round, grape, and chain shot: the 1st Bengal European regiment rushed on to support the 76th, followed by the sepoys. Holkar's infantry abandoned the first range of guns, and retired to the next; but this was as instantly charged by General Frazer, who fell mortally wounded in the operation, deeply regretted by his troops. The command devolved on Colonel Monson, under whom the victory was completed; the enemy being compelled to abandon battery after battery, until they were forced into the fort of Deeg, the garrison of which immediately fired upon the British troops. During the battle the Mahratta horse re-took the first range, and for a short time turned the guns on the rear of the British line, but they were again re-taken by 28 men of the 76th regiment, headed by Captain Norford, who lost his life in the performance of

November 12.

November 13.

this remarkable exploit. The loss of the British was severe; no less than 643 were killed and wounded and of these 22 were European officers. The loss of the enemy was estimated at about 2,000; 87 pieces of ordnance were taken, and among them Colonel Monson had the satisfaction of finding 14 of those lost during his retreat.

Four days after the victory at Deeg, on the morning of the 17th November, General Lake, after a most persevering pursuit, came up with Holkar's cavalry at Furruckabad, and falling upon them by surprise, put 3,000 of them to the sword. General Lake from the 31st October estimated that he had marched at the rate of 23 miles daily, and that during the night and day preceding the attack, including the space gone over in the pursuit, his cavalry went upwards of 70 miles in less than 24 hours.

November 17.

The explosion of a tumbril, as the British troops approached the Mahratta camp, gave the alarm to Holkar, and on the first discharge from the gallopers, Jeswunt Rao fled with such of his followers as were ready on the instant, taking the direction of Deeg, to join the remains of his army, of whose defeat he received intelligence the night before he was surprised. General Lake, continuing the pursuit, arrived at Deeg on the 1st December, when the siege of that fortress having been determined upon, the battering train was brought from Agra, and the trenches opened on the 13th. In ten days a breach was made in an outwork, strongly fortified at one of the angles

of the city, which was stormed and taken at midnight, with the loss of 227 men killed and wounded. On the ensuing day and night the town and citadel of Deeg were evacuated, the garrison, including the remains of Holkar's infantry, betaking themselves to Bhurtpoor.

December 13.

The capture of Deeg, involving the loss of the greater part of the territory of the raja of Bhurtpoor, was a severe blow to Holkar. His territory in the Deccan was already reduced by the capture of all his forts, including Chandore and Galna, which, after a slight resistance, surrendered to a division under Colonel Wallace by the end of October. His principal forts in Malwa were also occupied by British troops and in the month of August, Indore, his capital, had been taken possession of without resistance by the detachment of the Bombay army from Guzerat. That division had been ordered to advance into Hindostan for the purpose of endeavouring to intercept Holkar in his expected flight to Malwa, and it had reached Kotah by the end of December. The reduction of Bhurtpoor, however, was deemed necessary in order to cut off Holkar's only asylum, after which he might, it was supposed, be followed up as a fugitive, and either taken prisoner or rendered insignificant.

But the fortunes of Jeswunt Rao, though in a few weeks, they had undergone a signal reverse, were not yet destined to close. The situation of his ally the raja of Bhurtpoor was still more

desperate than his own, for as a Mahratta free-booter "he had still his country and his property on the saddle of his horse," but the Jath raja, as he himself declared from the first, "must stand or fall with his fort."*

* The above chapter, where the authority is not expressly mentioned, is from English Records, Major Thorne's memoir, and oral information.

CHAPTER XIV.

A.D. 1805 AND A.D. 1806.

The siege of Bhurtpoor commences.—Holkar and Umeer Khan attempt to obstruct the operations.—Umeer Khan proceeds to Rohilcund—is pursued by General Smith—defeated and compelled to return to Bhurtpoor.—The Jaths repulse the British army in four assaults.—The raja sues for peace—terms granted—principal reason for admitting him to terms.—Disputes with Sindia.—Marquis Cornwallis returns to India as governor general—his views—death—is succeeded by Sir George Barlow.—Holkar takes the route of the Punjab—is pursued by Lord Lake.—Peace with Sindia—and with Holkar.—System of policy pursued by Sir George Barlow—remonstrances of Lord Lake—declaratory articles annexed to the treaties—policy of the British government towards the Rajpoots—particularly ungenerous towards the raja of Boondee.—Treaty with the Gaekwar.

THE Bengal army arrived before Bhurtpoor on the second day of the new year. General Lake being accustomed only to success without properly reconnoitering the place, and with a very inefficient battering train, commenced the siege by taking possession of a grove which afforded a partial cover to his operations. Bhurtpoor is a fortified town, six or eight miles in circumference, everywhere surrounded by a very high strong mud wall, and bastions planted with a numerous artillery, having a wide and deep ditch, capable of being rendered unfordable. It was strongly garrisoned by the whole of the raja's troops and the remainder of Holkar's infantry. The raja pressed a great proportion of

A.D. 1805.

January 4.

the neighbouring villagers, many of whom were of his own cast, to assist in repairing the works; and having a very large treasury, nothing to obstruct his supplies on three sides of the town, and Holkar's cavalry to act upon those of the besiegers, his means of defence were proportionate to his resolution to use them. In addition to Holkar's cavalry, Umeer Khan was summoned for Bundelcund, and during the progress of the siege, after making on one occasion a considerable but unsuccessful effort on an important convoy, where a number of his men were killed, he went off to effect a diversion, crossed the Jumna and the Ganges, and invaded the Company's districts in Rohilcund. He was, however, so closely pursued by the British cavalry detached by General Lake under General Smith, that he had not time to effect extensive mischief. He was at last overtaken on the 1st March, and after a sharp skirmish routed with considerable loss. This defeat encouraged the people of the country to resist him, and his followers began to desert. Tired at length by a campaign less profitable and more hazardous than he expected, Umeer Khan, about the 20th March, returned to Bhurtpoor, which still defied every effort of the British general, who had by that time come to the resolution of suspending operations until the arrival of stores, and the junction of a more powerful artillery. The army had been repulsed in four assaults; the first, led by Colonel Maitland, who lost his life on the occasion, was

February 7.

March 20.

made on the night of the 9th of January. Several causes were assigned for its failure; owing to the irregularity of the ground, and the extreme darkness, a confusion took place at the outset, from which many of the men lost their way; the ditch was very deep, and the breach was not only imperfect, but defended with determined courage. A better breach induced General Lake to try the second assault on the 21st of the same month; it failed from the depth of water in the ditch. Means had been taken to ascertain the extent of this impediment by a stratagem of three of the Bengal native cavalry, who, pretending to go over to the enemy, and being fired upon with blank cartridges from the trenches, had thus an opportunity of making their observations, and returned with a favourable report. The enemy, however, dammed up the ditch in front of the breach, which, on the part of the besiegers, rendered valour unavailing, and perseverance destruction. On the 10th February the Bombay division, under Major-General Jones, joined the Bengal army to assist in the siege, which was now going on by regular approaches. On the 20th of that month another assault was made with no better success than the former. Two European regiments, one of them the hitherto brave 76th, refused to follow their officers, and thus gave the 12th regiment of Bengal sepoys an opportunity of immortalizing themselves. Following the gallant remains of the flank companies of the 22nd regiment of foot, the sepoys

February 10.

February 20.

advanced with the greatest alacrity, planted their colours on the top of a bastion, and it was supposed that an equal degree of ardour on the part of the 75th and 76th regiments would have made them masters of the place. Next day the men of these regiments, when addressed by General Lake, were overpowered by shame and remorse; they volunteered to a man; and a fourth and last attempt was made on the 21st February. The men marching over the dead bodies of their companions, which crowded the ditch and glacis, rushed on with a desperate resolution, which would have overcome any practicable obstacle. On this, as on every former occasion, none of the troops relaxed in their efforts; and for two hours, until ordered to desist, they persevered at the breach, or in climbing up a high bastion which adjoined it. But as fast as the leaders got up, they were knocked down with logs of wood, or speared by rows of pikemen who crowded the tops of the parapets. The besieged took every precaution, and used every effort of prudence and resolution; the damage done to the mud wall by the shot was generally repaired during the night, their guns, were drawn within the embrazures to prevent their being dismounted, and during the assaults, particularly in the last, pots filled with combustibles, burning cotton bales steeped in oil, with incessant discharges of grape from the cannon, and a destructive fire of small arms were poured upon the British troops, whose casualties were very great, and in the four

February 21.

assaults 3,203 men were killed and wounded, of whom 103 were European officers. The most afflicting circumstance attending these failures was the necessity of leaving many of the wounded behind, who were almost invariably put to death by a sally of the garrison.

The Mahratta horse made their appearance daily, endeavouring to obstruct the operations of the siege, and during the assaults afforded considerable assistance particularly when the British cavalry was in pursuit of Umeer Khan. They occasionally cut off cattle, foragers, and stragglers, and the foraging parties of the besiegers were necessarily so strong, and obliged to march to such a distance, that very considerable impediment was the consequence. Besides the attempt made by Umeer Khan, already adverted to, there was another serious but unavailing attack upon a convoy, which was made by both Holkar and Umeer Khan, assisted by some of the Jath horse. On both occasions the convoys were saved by seasonable reinforcements from the British camp. Upon the return of the cavalry from the pursuit of Umeer Khan in Rohilcund, General Lake made two attempts to surprise Holkar, in the second of which he was particularly successful;* 1,000 of the Mahrattas were killed, and great numbers of the horsemen their spirit being now completely broken, quitted their leader after this chastisement. To such a pitch of alarm had they now

* In the first attempt the clattering of the steel scabbards worn by the cavalry gave the Mahrattas intimation of his approach; in the second, by leaving them behind, he got nearer to their camp before being discovered.

arrived, and so completely disheartened were these active tormentors of Monson's detachment, that they had not courage to fight for their lives; not one of the British cavalry was killed on the occasion. A few days after this event, 3,000 of the remains of Holkar's regular infantry were intercepted by a detachment of British troops under Captain Royal, and defeated with severe loss.

To complete Holkar's misfortunes, his ally, the raja of Bhurtpoor, hoping to save himself, took advantage of the intermission of the siege to testify his desire of reconciliation; offering terms which, even after everything was prepared to renew the attack, many concurring reasons induced the British authorities to accept, although at the prodigious sacrifice of leaving a lasting impression of their failure. The raja of Bhurtpoor paid 20 lakhs of rupees, renounced his alliance with the enemies of the British government, and his claims to advantages secured by the former treaty with General (now Lord) Lake. The fortress of Deeg was to be restored when the British government had reason to be assured of his fidelity.

April 10.

The principal cause which actuated the British authorities in accommodating matters with the raja of Bhurtpoor was an apprehended rupture with Sindia. Doulut Rao, several days even before he signed the treaty of defensive alliance, had made strong objections to the restorations granted by the British government to the rana of Gohud, whom, as being long dispossessed of all territory,

he affected to consider as a private individual possessing neither rights nor independence, and therefore incapable of engaging in any treaty; consequently it was unjust, he argued, to set up his antiquated claims as one of the independent rajas or jagheerdars, and absurd to pretend that this elected rana could cede Gwalior to the company. These arguments, though easily combated, were sufficiently ingenious for the immediate purpose of Sindia's ministers, whose chief aim was to seek cause of present dispute, trusting to events for widening or repairing the breach as they saw occasion.

Ambajee Inglia, who was insincere from the first in his treaty with the English, and who claimed and obtained merit with his master for what he had done, by retaining possession of some of the districts in jagheer, is said to have been the deviser of this scheme in regard to Gohud,* and to have been the active abettor of Shirzee Rao Ghatgay in endeavouring to excite Doulut Rao to a union with Holkar. No Mahratta doubts, and the governor general must have known, that Bappoojee Sindia and Sewdasheo Bhow Bhaskur joined Holkar with Doulut Rao's consent. Whilst disavowed, it was not expedient to charge him with such an act of treacherous hostility, and therefore, in the event of their being apprehended by General Lake, he had instructions to try them by a court-martial for their treason and desertion, and to carry into execution whatever sentence

* Oral information from Ambajee's son-in-law and others.

might be passed. Sindia, in a long letter of frivolous and unjust complaint, which he addressed to the governor general on the 18th October 1804, had the assurance to adduce the desertion of those officers as one of his grievances, originating in his not having received pecuniary aid from the English, to enable him to co-operate against Holkar; and that they had only feigned to join the enemy for the purpose of obtaining subsistence for their troops.

At the period of the date of this letter, Sindia was on his march from Burhanpoor towards Malwa, professing an intention of proceeding to his own capital, Oojein, agreeably to frequent recommendations from the British government. But under the influence of Shirzee Rao, who from the first earnestly promoted the union with Holkar, Sindia was fully bent on joining that chief, and, in addition to various acts of a hostile nature against the allies of the British government, committed a gross outrage by attacking, plundering, and detaining Mr. Jenkins, the acting resident in his camp.

A division of the British army under Colonel Martindell in Bundelcund had been directed to reinforce the army at Bhurtpoor, and had advanced for that purpose as far as Gawlior; but on receiving intelligence of this outrage, Colonel Martindell fell back on Jhansee to frustrate any scheme which Sindia might have formed of invading the company's provinces, which from Kalpee to Calcutta were completely exposed; but Sindia moved on gradually to the northward,

until his approach to the Chumbul produced a strong remonstrance from the British resident, to whom Sindia declared that he was unable to proceed to settle his own country from the state of his finances, and that he was only marching towards Bhurtpoor to mediate a peace. He agreed, however, if assisted by British government in the removal of his pecuniary embrassments, to return to the southward, and act as they might desire; he also promised to make reparation for the plunder of the British resident. At the interview where these assurances were given, the demeanour of Sindia and his ministers was much more conciliatory than it had been for some time before, and it being of great importance to prevent Sindia from joining the confederacy at Bhurtpoor, the governor general accepted this promise as an atonement for the outrage on his representative, and agreed to advance some pecuniary aid, provided Sindia would return and employ himself in taking possession of Holkar's unoccupied districts in Malwa. Sindia pretended to acquiesce, and retired eight miles towards Subbulgurh; but still, on pretence of mediating, sent on a part of his cavalry and all his Pindharees towards Bhurtpoor. The treaty, however, was concluded previous to their arrival; the raja declined an interview with Sindia's wukeel, and the troops, joined by Holkar with the remains of his cavalry, returned to Sindia's camp, where Holkar met with a cordial reception, as did Bappoojee Sindia and Umeer Khan. Sindia in regard to Holkar endeavoured to justify himself to the British government, by telling the resident

that Holkar, who had intended to plunder the British territories, had at his request abandoned that design, and consented to his mediation for the attainment of peace.*

Lord Lake, in consequence of this junction, moved from Bhurtpoor with his whole army towards the camp of Sindia and Holkar, desiring the resident to quit Sindia's camp. The resident, however, was still detained on various pretexts, whilst the two chieftains, on Lord Lake's approach, retreated in a south-westerly direction towards Kotah, with great precipitation. Their whole force consisted of 5,000 infantry with 140 guns, 12,000 sillidar horse, and 12,000 Pindharees. From the advanced state of the season, Lord Lake did not deem it advisable to pursue them and therefore directed the army to take up positions during the monsoon. The Bombay troops, under General Jones, occupied a centrical situation at Tonk-Rampoorah, Colonel Martindell's division returned to Bundelcund, a detachment was placed at Gohud, and the main body of the Bengal army was stationed at Agra and Muttra.

Sindia and Holkar repaired to Kotah, and afterwards moved towards Ajmere. Holkar was a decided advocate for continuing the war; Shirzee Rao was strenuous in support of this proposal, and whilst he continued to sway the councils of his son-in-law, Holkar had entire influence in Sindia's administration. But the violence of Shirze Rao defeated his own purposes, and Holkar was instrumental in removing him from power, and

* Mill's History of British India.

placing Ambajée Inglia at the head of Sindia's administration. Holkar, with Sindia's connivance, had at first confined Ambajee, and after exacting from him a large sum of money, on which the troops subsisted for some time, he was released, and appointed as has been just mentioned. Holkar expected to find in him a willing co-adjutor, and, from the reputation of his wisdom, much more was hoped than from the rash violence of Shirzee Rao; but the temporizing policy of Ambajee, the re-kindling rivalry of the two chieftains, the separation of their camps, and above all, Sindia's conviction of their impotency to contend with the British government, paved the way to a pacification which had by that time, owing to a change in the government, become the primary object of the British cabinet.

Peace was no doubt of the greatest importance to British India at this period, but the power of the Mahratta chiefs was completely broken: the Peishwa, however inimically disposed, had as yet acquired no authority, and Marquis Wellesley, without renouncing any advantages, would have soon been enabled to effect every arrangement for securing a long, if not a permanent, tranquillity; but the protracted warfare, and the popular clamour in England against his administration, arising chiefly from temporary embarrassments and a sudden accumulation of debt, began to influence the opinions, not only of the proprietors and directors of the East India Company, but of the British ministry. The return of the venerable Marquis Cornwallis

to India was solicited by the highest authorities, as if the salvation of that country depended on his presence. He arrived in Calcutta on the 30th July, and on the same day assumed charge of the government. He showed, almost from the first act of his administration, that he disapproved of the system of defensive alliance conjoined with a subsidiary force, and evinced so great an eagerness to put an end to the war with Holkar, and to accommodate the differences with Sindia, that, had the power of these chiefs and of Rughoojee not been completely broken, it would probably have ensured a prolongation of hostilities, conducted with all the energy and activity of Mahrattas in success. Lord Cornwallis was willing to overlook the outrage committed by Sindia on the British resident, to give up Gwalior and its dependencies and to make some provision for the rana of Gohud from the disposable territories on the Jumna. To Holkar he proposed to restore the whole of the territories conquered from him during the war. He greatly disapproved of the treaties of defence and guarantee entered into with the petty rajas of Joudpoor, Jeypoor, Bhurtpoor, Macherry, and Boondee. As to the first, the raja of Joudpoor having refused to ratify the treaty which his wukeel had made with General Lake, of course no agreement with that state existed. With regard to the second, the raja of Jeypoor had not fulfilled the conditions of his agreement, and Marquis Cornwallis, at an early period, had directed him to be informed that it was considered as

dissolved; but the raja's subsequent conduct had in a great degree retrieved his previous neglect. With respect to the other three, the governor general proposed, as an inducement to their renouncing the alliance, to make over portions of the territory conquered from Sindia south of Delhi, and on the west of the Jumna, which river he intended should form the south-western boundary of the company's possessions in that quarter, and by these means exempt the British government from all obligation to guarantee or defend the territory so assigned from the attack of Sindia or any other potentate. In conformity with these sentiments, instructions were forwarded to Lord Lake on the 19th September; but before their official transmission, Lord Lake, apprized of the pacific course of policy which the new governor general had determined to pursue, seized an opportunity, consequent to Ambajee's appointment to the administration, and to the dismissal of Shirzee Rao, to draw proposals from Sindia—an important advantage in most negotiations, but particularly so in the present case. To the overtures made Lord Lake replied that he could listen to no proposition until the resident was released, a preliminary to which Sindia now readily consented; and Lord Lake, in anticipation of the wishes of the governor general, had submitted, previously to the receipt of his instructions, a plan for the adjustment of differences with Sindia. In consequence of this favourable state of affairs, and the evils he conceived likely to result from abandoning the connection with

the petty states, and permitting the Mahrattas to regain a footing in the northern provinces, he delayed acting upon the instructions, and represented the reasons by which he was guided.

Before this representation was received, the mortal illness of Marquis Cornwallis had rendered him incapable of attending to public business; and at his death, which happened on the 5th October, the charge of the British government in India devolved on the senior member of the Bengal council, Sir George Barlow.

October 5.

In the meantime Holkar, perceiving the change of politics on the part of Sindia, and that he had nothing to hope from him whilst his own fortunes were so low, quitted Ajmere early in the month of September, and with about 12,000 horse, 2,000 or 3,000 infantry, and 30 guns, took the route of the Punjab, giving out that he expected to be joined by the Seiks and the Afghans. Two divisions of the British army—the one under General Jones from Rampoorah, and the other under Colonel Ball, in the Rewaree hills—made ineffectual attempts to intercept him; on which Lord Lake, having posted divisions to prevent his getting back, set out in pursuit of him with five regiments of cavalry and four battalions of infantry.

These operations did not obstruct the arrangements with Sindia, which, under the immediate direction of Lord Lake, were concluded by a new treaty on the 22nd November; Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm being the agent on the part of the Company, and Moonshee Kavil Nyne on that of Sindia.

The treaty of Surjee Anjengaom was to remain in full force, excepting in such parts as might be altered by the present arrangement. The subsisting engagement between the British government and the rana of Gohud being inconvenient, or, as was declared, the rana being found totally unfit for the exercise of sovereign authority, the agreement was dissolved, and the fortress of Gwalior with the Gohud territory were restored to Sindia. It was, however, stipulated that an establishment should be provided for the rana by the British government; and, in order to remunerate them for the expense of supporting it, Sindia, on his part, agreed to relinquish the pensions of 15 lakhs of rupees, granted to certain officers in his service, and to resign his enam districts of Dholpoor-Baree and Raj-Kerrah, which were reserved to him by the treaty of Surjee Anjengaom. The river Chumbul, from Kotah on the west, to the extremity of the Gohud territory on the east, was declared the boundary of the two states; and, in consideration of the benefits derived by the company from this line of demarcation, it was agreed to allow Sindia, personally, an annual pension of four lakhs of rupees, and to assign jagheers to his wife and daughter —the former to have two lakhs, and the latter one lakh of rupees annually, within the territory of the company. The two small districts of Bhadek and Sooseporarah, on the right bank of the Jumna, and south of the Chumbul, being necessary to the greater security of the company's frontier, were made over to them. Sindia renounced all claim to tribute from the raja of

Boondee, or from any other state north of the Chumbul, and to the eastward of Kotah. The British government engaged to enter into no treaties with the rana of Oudepoor, the rajas of Joudpoor, Kotah, and other chiefs, the tributaries of Sindia in Malwa, Marwar, and Mewar; nor to interfere with the arrangements Sindia might make with them. In the event of peace with Holkar, the British government engaged that they should not desire the restoration of such of the districts of Holkar between the Taptee and Chumbul as Sindia had taken, or interfere in any manner with their arrangements, wars, or disputes. The losses, public and private, sustained by the British residency, were to be made good; and as it was notorious that Shirzee Rao Ghatgay was the instigator of this outrage, and that he had always acted with the most virulent hostility to the British government, Sindia agreed never to admit him into his councils. The negotiation of this treaty did not obstruct the active pursuit of Holkar; Lord Lake, joined by reinforcements as he advanced, followed him into the Punjab with unremitting perseverance. Jeswunt Rao, if he entered the territory of the Seiks in any expectation of assistance from them, was totally disappointed; but, whilst they preserved a strict neutrality, they were also anxious to become mediators for Holkar, whose hopes of resisting the British power were now completely crushed. Driven at length to extreme distress, he sent agents to Lord Lake's camp, on the bank of the Beah, to sue for peace; and as the instructions of the late governor general remained in

force, under the authority of Sir George Barlow, it may be imagined that the negotiation of a treaty which restored conquered territories, to which Holkar had forfeited his right, even had he been the legitimate representative of his family, was very soon concluded. Holkar renounced all right to Tonk-Rampoorah, Boondee, and all other places north of the Boondee hills, all claims on the province of Bundelcund, and on the British government and its allies; he engaged never to entertain Europeans in his service, and never to admit Shirzee Rao Ghatgay into his councils or employment; he also became bound to return to Malwa by a prescribed route. The British government engaged to have no interference with the possessions of Holkar south of the Chumbul; to restore the forts and districts of the family in the Deccan, excepting Chandore and its dependencies, and the districts of Amber and Sewgaom; but, in case of Holkar's evincing amicable and peaceful intentions towards the British government, Chandore, Amber, and Sewgaon were to be restored, and the district of Koonch, in Bundelcund, was to be given in jagheer to his daughter—the former in 18 months, and the latter in
December 24. two years, from the 24th December 1805, the day on which the treaty was dated.

Sir George Barlow, in whom the power of confirming treaties on the part of the British government now rested, made an
A.D. 1806. alteration in this treaty, as well as in that concluded with Sindia. Sir George Barlow conceived that the reasons adduced by Lord Lake for continuing the connections with

the petty states north of the Chumbul, were outweighed by the political advantage of their dissolution. Lord Lake maintained that the alliance of these petty states interposed a strong barrier against the future encroachments of the Mahrattas; and that, at all events, the honor of the British government was pledged to respect its engagements, until the treaties were infringed or renounced by the states in question. Sir George Barlow contended that the security of the British government depended either on its controlling all the states of India, or on leaving them to the wars and disputes which were sure to arise if left to themselves; and if the British government renounced its claim to the territory in which any such petty states was situated, all obligation to protect it was dissolved. It is not clear, in the circumstances then existing, in what manner Sir George Barlow meant to apply this latter argument, excepting to the raja of Boondee; but with respect to the former observation, as far as regarded the contentions of those states, Lord Lake had before expressed his opinion that, if left to themselves, they would quarrel with each other, call in the aid of the native powers in their vicinity, and large armies of irregulars would be contending upon the frontier of the most fertile provinces of the British government, against whose eventual excesses there would be no well-grounded security, but a military force in a constant state of preparation. Had His Lordship's life been extended to the term which might have been reasonably hoped, he would not only have seen

his prediction verified, but that a military force, acting on the defensive, afforded no certain security against the incursions of swarms of brigands which were thus nourished.

Agreeably to the system of policy he had determined upon, Sir George Barlow annexed declaratory articles to the treaties concluded with Sindia and Holkar, explaining away any obligation which, by the treaty with the former, might be inferred, of protecting the petty states north of the Chumbul, from Kotah to the Jumna, and restoring to the latter Tonk-Rampoorah and all the territory north of the Boondee hills; thus abandoning to his fate the raja of Boondee, who, on his part, had maintained the alliance with honour and generosity.

Lord Cornwallis, disapproving of the system of alliances, had, as already mentioned, taken advantage of a failure in his engagement on the part of the raja of Jeypoor, to direct that alliance to be considered as dissolved; but Lord Lake had prevailed upon Lord Cornwallis to suspend this dissolution, because, at the period, the raja had it greatly in his power to assist or incommode the British army; and from that time he had performed such essential service as to render himself obnoxious both to Sindia and Holkar, to whose vengeance he became exposed, should the British government withdraw its protection. Notwithstanding these claims, and the earnest recommendation of Lord Lake, Sir George Barlow obstinately adhered to his determination, and declared the alliance at an end. This declaration, it may be observed, did not take place until

subsequent to the treaties with Holkar and Sindia; so that, without infringing its engagements with them, the British government was still at liberty to extend its protection to Jeypoor if it should see fit.

The engagements with the rajas of Bhurtpoor and Macherry, though their dissolution was much desired by the governor general, remained in force.

The treaty of Deogaom concluded with Rughoojee Bhonslay, 17th December 1803, also continued in force; but by an engagement, dated 24th August 1806, Patwa and Sumbulpore were restored to him.

By the definitive treaty with Sindia it became necessary to provide for the Rana of Gohud, and the districts of Dholpoor-Baree and Raj-Kerrah were assigned for that purpose.

A definitive treaty of general defensive alliance had been concluded with the Gaekwar, 21st April 1805, for the purpose of consolidating the stipulations contained in three preceding agreements, drawn up in March, June, and July 1802 and making some additions and alterations which were deemed expedient. The Gaekwar had previously received a subsidiary force of 2,000 men, and he now engaged to maintain 3,000 infantry and a company of artillery, which were to be stationed within his territory, but only employed on occasions of some importance. Districts yielding rupees 11,70,000* were assigned for their

* *Viz.*—Dholka	..	... Rs.	4,50,000
Neriad	...	...	1,75,000
Beejapoor	...	...	1,30,000
Mahtur	...	...	1,30,000

support. The districts of Chowrassy, Chickly, and Kaira, together with the Gaekwar's share of the chouth of Surat, were ceded to the company. The British government having advanced, or become security on account of the Gaekwar's government to the amount of nearly 41½ lakhs of rupees, the revenue of districts yielding nearly 14 lakhs annually was appropriated for liquidating this debt. The Gaekwar agreed to submit the examination and adjustment of the outstanding accounts and debts between him and the Peishwa to the British government, to receive no European into his service, and to commit no act of aggression against any other power without the acquiescence of the British government.

Such was the substance of the principal articles of the treaty of Baroda, concluded by Major Walker on the part of the company, and intended to render the engagements with the Gaekwar's state consonant to those of the treaty of Bassein.*

		Rs.
Carry forward ...		8,85,000
Moondah...	...	1,10,000
Tuppa of Kurree	...	25,000
Kheemkatodra	...	50,000
Wurat on Kattywar	...	1,00,000
		11,70,000

* Authorites as in the preceding.

CHAPTER XV.

FROM A.D. 1806 TO A.D. 1814.

Review of the condition of the Mahratta states—and of the British policy in regard to them.—Holkar's proceedings—insanity—confinement—death and character.—Regency under the control of Umeer Khan—factions—embarrassments and anarchy.—State of Sindia's territory.—Death of Shirzee Rao Ghatgay.—Affairs of Rughoojee Bhonslay.—Rise of the Pindharees—their mode of assembling and conducting an expedition—their progress—general anarchy in Central India—alarming increase of predatory power.

In the preceding chapter we have brought to a close the detail of those important events in Mahratta history which immediately followed the treaty of Bassein. It now becomes requisite to survey the condition of the Mahratta states before and at the conclusion of those arrangements with the British government, to review briefly the policy which actuated that government, and to explain the effects resulting from it on the various Mahratta states. It will then only remain to detail the principal causes which led to the last great revolution, and entirely subverted the dominion of the Peishwa.

A. D. 1806.

The treaty of Salbye, by which Mahadajee Sindia was acknowledged by the British government as head of an independent state, and the policy of Warren Hastings, which permitted him to extend his power on the side of Hindostan, had a great effect in weakening the power of the

Peishwa, and in hastening the decline of the Mahrattas, by dissolving that community of interests which was the mainspring of their union. Previously, however, to the treaty of Bassein, if we accept the engagements entered into by the Gaekwar with the English, the visible changes in the Mahratta government were wrought by domestic feuds, originating in the intrigues of some of its principal members—first, of Nana Furnuwees and Sindia to supplant each other; next, of Bajee Rao to overturn the power of both; and finally, of the Mahratta chiefs, Sindia and Holkar, to obtain by force a control over the Bramin court, similar to that which the Peishwa had established by policy over the head of the empire.

By the treaty of Bassein, and the subsequent treaties on the part of Rughoojee Bhonslay, Sindia, and Holkar with the British government, a still greater and far more obvious change had taken place in the condition of the Mahrattas than that which resulted from the treaty of Salbye. The Peishwa had ceded a large tract of country; he was controlled in his foreign relations, and upheld in his musnud by a British force. The territories of the other Mahratta chiefs had been dismembered; the Moghul emperor had fallen into the hands of their great rival; and they sat down exhausted and dismayed, sensible of some of their errors when too late, but with no plan, or even sentiment of union, except hatred to that nation by which they had been subdued.

The inconsistencies observable in the British

policy were produced by the different views entertained by successive governors general, each influenced in a greater or less degree by opinions in England. Lord Cornwallis, before the close of his first administration, perceived the necessity of some measures of precaution to secure the territories of the company, and to preserve the peace of India. He hoped that the native powers would become sensible of the integrity and advantage of the plan he suggested for ensuring a common alliance, and that they would embrace it with the same candour with which it was proposed; but he failed in completing the treaties of general guarantee, which he had contemplated as a remedy for the evils with which the country was threatened.

Marquis Wellesley, looking equally to the security of British India from foreign invasion, and from wars with the native powers, believed that such security was only attainable by establishing an ascendancy in the councils of the native states, so as to be able to direct their resources to their own advantage, and to that of the British nation; hence his policy tended to the control of all the native powers from Cape Comorin to the Gulf of Kutch and from Kutch to the Sewalick mountains. How far, and with what success, he carried his measures into effect, has been detailed. His extensive plans, the effect which their prosecution had upon the commercial interests of the East India Company, and the obstacles he encountered, alarm the authorities at home, some of whom, doubting the justice of the measures pursued, and dreading a rapid extension

of dominion, were desirous of at least impeding the conquest of all India; and others, whose views extended little further than the obvious increase of debt, and the irregularity of furnishing the company's investments, sought a change of policy as essential to prevent or repair these apparent evils. Marquis Cornwallis was accordingly, as we have seen, again sent out, and an instant stop was put to the system of defensive alliances. His successor, Sir George Barlow, inflexibly pursued the line of policy without regard to various circumstances, which he considered unimportant in attaining a general end; but his measures were as short-sighted and contracted as they were selfish and indiscriminating.

The Nizam, the Peishwa, and the Gaekwar were already bound by the defensive and subsidiary alliances of Marquis Wellesley; but British protection was withdrawn from the petty states in Hindostan, excepting the rajas of Bhurtpoor and Macherry. Rughoojee Bhonslay, Sindia and Holkar were each left in possession of considerable tracts of territory; but under their management the net revenues of each state, after deducting enams and jagheers, did not exceed 60 lakhs of rupees; that of Rughoojee Bhonslay was considerably less, but his military followers were fewer, and of an inferior description. The treaties with these three states were mere instruments of general amity; their intercourse was completely unrestrained, and no control, except in relation to the allies of the British government, was to be exercised over them. Plausible reasons were not wanting for supposing that the whole

pacification was wise and politic. The progress of conquest was at least impeded ; a considerable territory, pretty equally balanced, remained to each of the chiefs ; and it was expected that their domestic wars, the plunder of their neighbours, and the fear of losing what they possessed, would deter them from hostile proceedings against the British government. In the armies which they maintained a portion of the unemployed soldiery numbers of whom were entertained in the British service during the war, and discharged from it immediately afterwards, would still obtain a livelihood ; and it was even hoped that these chiefs would find it to their interest to establish order in their revenue collections, gradually to reduce their military establishments, and turn their attention to cultivate the arts of peace. Until these desirable reforms could be effected the vigilance of the British government and the power of its allies would, it was supposed, be quite sufficient to quell disorders or inroads occasioned by the plundering hordes, which, after every war in India, disturb the general tranquillity.

It is not the object of this work to enlarge on this subject ; it is sufficient to state the policy embraced, and the ends expected by the British government ; but the consequences as they tended to hasten the decline of the Mahrattas, and the leading events antecedent to their fall, it is our province to explain.

When Jeswunt Rao Holkar returned from Hindostan, he intimated to his army his intention of discharging about 20,000 of his horse,

chiefly Deccanees;* but large arrears being due to them, which Holkar could not immediately pay, they placed him in *dhurna*, when he gave them his nephew Khundee Rao as a pledge that their demands should be satisfied. The advantage of having the admitted head of the Holkar family in their custody was not overlooked by a turbulent soldiery, already disaffected and mutinous; they immediately hoisted the standard of Khundee Rao, declared him the only legal representative, and refused obedience to Jeswunt Rao. But the overawing power of the infantry, and the payment of their arrears, to defray which Holkar expected a large sum from the raja of Jeypore,† had an immediate effect in quashing the sedition.

But the innocent instrument of the mutineers fell a sacrifice to his enraged uncle, who secretly put him to death; and the ferocious jealousy of Jeswunt Rao, once roused, could not be allayed until he had also decreed the death of his brother,

* Sir John Malcolm. Bappoo Kanhoo, one of my authorities, who was with Holkar at the time, says, "there was no words with the Mahrattas," and that the subsequent mutiny was occasioned entirely by the Patans. Bappoo Kanhoo, to whose authority I have here referred for the second time, is a respectable old Bramin soldier, who was the staunch adherent and devoted friend of Chittoor Sing. He was employed in all his negotiations, and shared in most of the vicissitudes of his remarkable life. Bappoo Kanhoo was found imprisoned in one of the hill-forts taken by the British troops in 1818, and, on being rescued, joined the raja of Satara, at whose court he now resides. The history of his own times, written at my request, is lodged with the Literary Society of Bombay.

† Bappoo Kanhoo.

Khassee Rao, who was in like manner privately murdered.

Those atrocious deeds were the forerunner of a state of insanity, which was further evinced by extraordinary military preparations, carried on with an ardour and violence proportionate to the derangement of his intellects; until at last in 1808, his extravagant conduct led to his being put under restraint, in which state he continued in his camp for the space of three years, until the 20th October 1811, when his miserable existence terminated.

A. D. 1807.

The chief feature of Jeswunt Rao Holkar's character was that hardy spirit of energy and enterprize which, though like that of his countrymen, boundless in success, was also not to be discouraged by trying reverses. He was likewise better educated than Mahrattas in general, and could write both the Persian language and his own: his manner was frank, and could be courteous, and he was distinguished by a species of coarse with very attractive to the Indian soldiery. He had few other commendable qualities; for although sometimes capriciously lavish, he was rapacious unfeeling, and cruel, and his disposition was overbearing, jealous, and violent. In person his stature was low, but he was of a very active strong make; though his complexion was dark, and he had lost an eye by the accidental bursting of a matchlock, the expression of his countenance was not disagreeable, and bespoke something of droll humour, as well as of manly boldness.

When Holkar returned from the Punjab, after signing the treaty with Lord Lake, the rajas

of Jeypoor and Joudpoor were at war on account of a princess of Oudepoor, for whose hand both were pretenders. Each party solicited
A.D. 1808. aid from Sindia and Holkar; Sindia sent them Shirzee Rao Ghatgay and Bappoo Sindia with 15,000 horse; and Holkar allowed Umeer Khan to join the raja of Jeypoor with his Patans. This raja was for a time successful, until Umeer Khan left him, commenced plundering the Jeypoor and Joudpoor districts indiscriminately, then, changing sides, reversed the probable issue of the contest by joining the raja of Joudpoor. At last, interposing between them, he put an end to the contest by horrible deeds of treacherous assassination.*

When Holkar's state of mind rendered it necessary to place him under restraint, Umeer Khan was just disengaged from his Rajpoot warfare, and proceeded with all speed to Rampoorah. It was there settled that the government should be administered by a regency controlled by Umeer Khan, but under the nominal authority of Toolsee Bye, the favourite mistress of Jeswunt Rao, a woman of profligate habits, and of most vindictive disposition, totally unfit for high station, or the exercise of the power with which she was vested. On the death of Jeswunt Rao, she adopted Mulhar Rao Holkar, a boy of four years old, the son of Jeswunt Rao by another concubine, and in his name continued to govern. Umeer Khan was soon recalled to Rajpootana in the prosecution of his own views, which were solely bent upon the extension of predatory power for

* See Malcolm's Central India.

the interest of himself and his ferocious band of Patans, over whom he maintained an authority by superior art, but in whose hands he was sometimes a mere instrument. When it suited his views of plunder, Umeer Khan sometimes advanced claims in Holkar's name, but those claims were not pressed where the consequences might involve the state of Holkar with the British government. At this departure from Rampoorah, he caused a jagheer to be conferred on his relation Ghuffoor Khan, whom he left as his agent and director with Toolsee Bye.

The conduct of the administration was worthy of such a regency; there was no regular collection of revenue, the government had not the power of reducing its army, and the finances of the state, even under the most skilful management, were inadequate to the support of the establishments. Bodies of troops, under various commanders, were therefore sent to collect or extort subsistence from the provinces, without much regard to the rights of neighbouring states; many of them became disobedient; one body of Holkar's troops, under Mohummud Ally Khan Bungush, went into rebellion at a very early period, plundered the districts in Candeish, and would have forced their way through the Nizam's territory into Holkar's district of Amber, but the subsidiary forces of Poona and Hyderabad were called out to oppose them, when the rebels were dispersed, and Bungush was sent as a state prisoner to the fort of Bombay.

The government, if such it may be designanted, of Holkar was alternately swayed by two

factions, the Mahrattas and the Patans, who were constantly intriguing against each other, and nothing could exceed the state of anarchy which prevailed throughout the country—at the court, bribery, execution, and murders; in the provinces, violence, rapine, and bloodshed.

Sindia's territory was merely as much disturbed as that of Holkar. His military establishment far exceeded his financial means, and, to rid himself of the clamours of his troops, he was obliged to send them out to subsist upon the districts in the manner which was adopted by Holkar; but some found employment in reducing several refractory zumeendars and rajas, who were Sindia's tributaries. Armies accustomed to rapine and violence in extensive regions were now confined to tracts comparatively small; the burden of their exactions became, in many places, intolerable, and districts, before cultivated and populous, were fast running to waste and wretchedness. For the supply of personal exigencies Sindia was obliged to have recourse to a banker, who at large rates of interest furnished him with occasional advances of money; and of all his pecuniary resources, the pensions which he and his family derived from the British government were the security most acceptable. On the death of Ambajee Inglia, Sindia proceeded to reduce the territory in Gohud held by Ambajee's family, and, having established his camp at Gwalior in 1810, though he frequently went on pilgrimages and expeditions, he had never moved his headquarters from that spot; hence Sindia's

A.D. 1809.

A.D. 1810.

camp, as it is called, has become a great city. His authority was considerably strengthened by the reduction of Inglia's jagheer; and the death of his father-in-law, Shirzee Rao Ghatgay, having happened during the preceding season, was important both in tranquillizing the domestic feuds and public dissensions, which that turbulent man was perpetually exciting. The articles of the treaties with Sindia and Holkar respecting Shirzee Rao were subsequently annulled by the British government. He afterwards exercised considerable power, and frequently dictated to his son-in-law in the most audacious manner: the circumstances which led to his death originated in a violent altercation respecting a jagheer, which Shirzee Rao, in opposition to Sindia, wished to confer on some rich sillidars,* the Nimbalkurs of Watar. Sindia, unable longer to endure his violent and contumacious behaviour, ordered him to be arrested, when Shirzee Rao having refused to obey the mandate, Anund Rao Sindia, the son of Manajee Phakray, transfixed him with his spear, and thus rid the world of a being than whom few worse have ever disgraced

* Poor soldiers are at least as common in Maharashtra as in other parts of the world. The Nimbalkurs of Watar are the only rich sillidars with whom I am acquainted. Watar is a village between Phultun and the Mahdeo hills, where the different members of this inferior branch of the Nimbalkur family have expended vast sums of money in the erection of palaces which are more remarkable for their solidity than their elegance They have at least the merit of being the most substantial dwellings in the west of India.

humanity. Doulut Rao, if he did not order, approved of the deed; and it is said that he has all his life been a prey to remorse for the atrocious actions to which he was induced to lend his sanction when under the influence of the monster Ghatgay.*

The state of affairs at Nagpore under the government of Rughoojee Bhonslay partook of the weakness and confusion prevalent in the territory of Sindia and Holkar, with this difference, that the troops of Rughoojee were inferior, and the country became in consequence more exposed to the attack of freebooters from without. Invited by these circumstances, Umeer Khan in 1809, after establishing himself in Rajpootana, made a pretext of some alleged claim of the Holkar family to carry his ravages into Berar, and to let loose the Pindharees, as well as his own followers, to plunder the territory of Rughoojee; but the British government, glad at the moment of an opportunity to employ its troops, gratuitously interposed, and forced these predatory bands, which no state acknowledged, to recross the Nerbuddah.

The Pindharees, a class of the lowest freebooters, whom we have already had frequent occasion to mention, were early known in the Deccan. Great numbers of them followed the army of the first Bajee Rao; and it probably was an object of that great man's policy to draw them out of the Mahratta country. It is certain that he left his Pindharees in Malwa with his officers

* Malcolm, Prinsep, Mahratta MSS., and oral information.

Sindia and Holkar, that they always attended their armies when they invaded the Moghul provinces, and that the Pindharees of each of these leaders distinguished themselves as Sindia Shahee and Holkar Shahee, or the respective followers of Sindia and Holkar.

In 1794 Sindia assigned some lands to the Pindharees near the banks of the Nerbuddah, which they soon extended by conquests from the Grassias, or original independent landholders in their neighbourhood. Their principal leaders at that time were two brothers, named Heeroo and Burrun, who are said to have been put to death for their aggressions on the territory of Sindia and Rughoojee Bhonslay. The sons of Heeroo and Burrun became Pindharee chiefs; but Khureem Khan, a Pindhara, who had acquired great booty in the plunder of the Nizam's troops after the battle of Hurdla, and was distinguished by superior cunning and enterprize, became the principal leader of this refuse of the Mahratta armies.

Khureem got the district of Shujahalpoor from Umeer Khan, which, with some additions, was afterwards confirmed to him by Sindia, through the interest of Shirzee Rao Ghatgay. During the war of 1803, and the subsequent disturbed state of the country, Khureem contrived to obtain possession of several districts in Malwa, belonging to Sindia's jagheerdars; and his land revenue at one time is said to have amounted to 15 lakhs of rupees a year. He also wrested some territory from the nabob of Bhopaul on which he built a fort, as a place of security for his family,

and of deposit for his plunder. Khureem was originally a Sindia Shahee,* but, like most of the Pindharees, except about 5,000 of the Holkar Shahees, who remained faithful, he changed sides, or plundered his master whenever it suited his convenience, which was as often as he found an opportunity. Sindia, jealous of his encroachments, on pretence of lending him some guns, inveigled him to an interview, made him prisoner, plundered his camp, recovered the usurped districts, and lodged Khureem in the fort of Gwalior.†

A number of leaders started up after the confinement of Khureem, of whom Cheetoo, Dost Mohummud, Namdar Khan, and Shaikh Dulloo became the most conspicuous. They associated themselves with Umeer Khan in 1809, during his expedition to Berar; and in 1810, when Khureem Khan purchased his release from Gwalior, they assembled under that leader a body of 25,000 horse and some battalions of newly raised infantry, with which they again proposed to invade Berar; but Cheetoo, always jealous of Khureem's ascendancy, was detached by Rughoojee Bhonslay from the alliance, and afterwards co-operated with Sindia in attacking him; Khureem was in consequence driven to seek an asylum with his old patron Umeer Khan, but, by the influence of Sindia, Umeer Khan kept him in a state of confinement until the year 1816.‡

When the Mahrattas ceased to spread themselves, the Pindharees, who had attended their

* Sir John Malcolm. | † Prinsep.

‡ Public Records, Prinsep, Sir John Malcolm.

armies, were obliged to plunder the territories of their former protectors for subsistence, and on being suffered to exist at all, their numbers were very soon augmented. To the unemployed soldiery of India, particularly to the Mahomedans, the life of a Pindhara had many allurements; but the Mahratta horsemen who possessed hereditary rights, or had any pretentions to respectability, did not readily join them.

In every 1,000 Pindharees, about 400 were tolerably well mounted and armed; of that number, about every fifteenth man carried a match-lock, but their favourite weapon was the ordinary Mahratta spear, which is from 12 to 18 feet long. The remaining 600 were common plunderers and followers, armed, like the bazar retainers of every army in India, with all sorts of weapons.

Before the Pindharees set out on an expedition, a leader sent notice to the inferior chiefs, and hoisted his standard on a particular day after the cessation of the rains, generally about the Dussera. As soon as the rivers were fordable, and a sufficient number had assembled, they moved off by the most unfrequented routes towards their destination. Commencing with short marches of about 10 miles, they gradually extended them to 30 or 40 miles a day, until they reached some peaceful region against which their expedition was intended. Terror and dismay burst at once on the helpless population; villages were seen in flames, wounded and houseless peasants flying in all directions, fortified places shutting their gates, and keeping up a perpetual firing from their walls. The plunderers dispersed

in small parties, and spread themselves over the whole face of the country; all acting on a concerted plan, they swept round in a half circle, committing every sort of violence and excess,—torturing to extort money, ravishing, murdering, and burning in the defenceless villages; but seldom venturing on danger, unless the prospect of booty was very certain. When they approached a point on the frontier, very distant from where they had entered, they united and went off in a body to their homes. Whilst they continued their excesses, marauders of all descriptions sallied out to join them, or to profit by their presence, and whole districts became a scene of rapine and conflagration.

The ordinary modes of torture inflicted by these miscreants were heavy stones placed on the head or chest; red hot irons applied to the soles of the feet; tying the head of a person into a tobra, or bag for feeding horses, filled with hot ashes; throwing oil on the clothes and setting fire to them; besides many others equally horrible. The awful consequences of a visitation from the Pindharees can scarcely be imagined by those who have not witnessed them. For some time, until the districts in Malwa, Marwar, Mewar, and the whole of Rajpootana were exhausted, and the Pindharees were encouraged and excited to venture on more fertile fields, their ravages were chiefly confined to those countries and Berar; a few of them, however, ventured almost every year into the dominions of the Nizam and the Peishwa, though little notice was taken of them by the

British government whilist they refrained from molesting its own subjects* and territory. But even had no other causes arisen to excite the Pindharees to extend their depredations, it was impossible, in the state in which India was left, by the half measures and selfish policy adopted by the British government, that any part of it could long remain exempt from predatory inroad. The Rajpoot states were overrun by Umeer Khan, Sindia, Holkar, and the Pindharees; and the territories of Sindia and Holkar, intermixed as they were in Malwa, and in the hands of a powerful and lawless soldiery, soon became, like Rajpootana, common prey. The aggression of Sindia and Holkar on each other gave rise to disputes, and even to battles; but to no political warfare. Had Sindia been able to pay up the arrears due to his troops, and to command the services of those who owed him allegiance, he might, at Jeswunt Rao's death, have made himself complete master of Holkar's dominions; but intrigues were substituted for military force, and these were counteracted. Although the chiefs were not at war, the troops of the Rajpoots and of Umeer Khan, and those of Sindia, Holkar, the Powars of Dhar, and the Pindharees, fought frequent battles amongst each

A.D. 1812.

* For a long time they respected the persons of the British subjects, to which the author can himself bear testimony, having accidentally passed through a body of Pindharees in the middle of a night when they had committed great excesses; and to him, though unarmed and unattended, they offered neither molestation nor insult.

other, when plunder was in dispute, all which had no other effect than that of rendering yet more miserable the already unhappy country, and stirring up materials for predatory power, on which Umeer Khan and Sindia began to found higher hopes when they foresaw a prospect of support from the head of the empire.

To him, therefore, we now return, in order to detail the events preceding that revolution in Maharashtra with which this history closes.

CHAPTER XVI.

FROM A.D. 1803 TO A.D. 1817.

The Peishwa's proceedings after being re-established on his musnud.—Appoints Sewdasheo Bhow Mankesir to conduct affairs with the British residency.—Ingratitude to Khundee Rao Rastia—and total disregard of the claims of the former servants of the state.—Appoints Ballajee Luximon sur-soobehdar of Candeish and Buglana.—Treacherous seizure and murder of the Bheels at Kopergaom.—Rebellion of the Pritee Needhee—suppressed by Bappoo Gokla, who is enriched in consequence.—Appa Dessaye Nepankur—called to interfere in the wars of Kolapoor and Sawuntwaree.—Affairs of these petty states.—Revert to affairs at Poona.—Collusion of Sewdasheo Mankesir and Khoosroojee Moodhee.—Mr. Elphinstone is appointed resident.—Settlement with the southern jagheerdars, who are compelled to submit to the Peishwa.—Suppression of piracy in the Concan.—Treaties with Kolapoor and Sawuntwaree.—Exultation of the Peishwa—he raises a brigade of regular troops.—Accusations against Khoosroojee Moodhee by Sewdasheo Bhow Mankesir.—Rise of Trimbukjee Dainglia.—Bajee Rao extends his views of policy—recruits his army.—Conduct of Bappoojee Sindia in regard to the surrender of Dharwar.—Trimbukjee Dainglia becomes prime minister.—Mode of letting the districts in farm.—Bajee Rao's neglect of civil government—amasses considerable wealth—perseveres in sequestrating jagheers.—Case of Mahdoo Rao Rastia.—Plan of an extensive confederacy.—Endeavours to establish an ascendancy in Guzerat.—Affairs of the Baroda government.—Able management of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker.—Claims of the Peishwa.—Counter-claims of the Gaekwar.—Attempt at adjustment—fails.—Gungadhur Shastree is deputed to Poona—progress of his mission—he is murdered by Trimbukjee.—Trimbukjee delivered up to the British government—effects his escape from confinement.—The Peishwa raises troops through Trimbukjee for the purpose of maintaining war

secretly against the British government.—Conduct of the resident for defeating this design.—The troops assembled are declared insurgents—pursued, and attacked.—Intercourse suspended.—Proposed preliminary to an adjustment.—Bajee Rao denies all knowledge of Trimbakjee or his adherents.—Refuses to comply with the proposed terms.—Poona surrounded.—The Peishwa submits.—New treaty.

A.D. 1803.

BAJEE RAO was scarcely re-established on his musnud when he evinced the distrust and duplicity of his character towards his new allies, and openly avowed, in regard to many persons subject to his authority, that in entering on the alliance with the English, a principal inducement was a motive of revenge.

He kept up a correspondence with the chiefs confiderated against the British power,* and ascribed his connexion with that government, which to them he reprobated and deplored, to necessity, occasioned by their absence, and to the treachery of the southern jagheerdars. He withheld the services of his troops as much as possible, and prevented the Putwurdhuns from accompanying General Wellesley, by secretly inciting the raja of Kolapoor to invade their jagheer, thereby hoping to make a merit with Sindia, and afford to himself an opportunity of wreaking his vengeance on the family of Pureshram Bhow, by making it appear that they were enemies to the alliance with the British government, and had forfeited their jagheer by disobedience to him.

* After Bajee Rao's deposal, it was found that Sindia's villages, within the Peishwa's boundary, ceded by the treaty of Surjee Anjengaom, were all secretly continued to Sindia by Bajee Rao.

These indications spoke very unfavourably to his new allies of what might be expected from the Peishwa in case any reverse should attend the British arms. Bajee Rao, as the reader has had ample occasion to observe, was not deficient in a species of ability, but he had a little talent for government; intrigue was with him a passion; profound in the arts of deceit, he believed all his plans infallible, and at this period no person shared his entire confidence. He aimed at conducting the administration himself; but as his chief business for some time lay with the British resident, with whom it was his plan to avoid all personal discussion where difference of opinion might arise, he found it expedient to intrust the management of that important branch to Sewdasheo Bhow Mankesir, whom we have already mentioned as the agent of Govind Rao Pingley, the Peishwa's envoy at Hyderabad. Sewdasheo Bhow was subsequently employed, on the part of Sindia and Bajee Rao, to endeavour to engage the Nizam in the proposed confederacy against the British government during the last war with Tippoo, at the moment when the speedy reduction of Seringapatam and the fall of the Sultan crushed their machinations.

Sewdasheo Mankesir was a Deshist Bramin, one of the family of the deshpandya of the village of Taimboornee, and at one time gained a livelihood by reciting Kuthas* in Poona, before he

* Sewdasheo Bhow Mankesir was a great musician and composer; all the airs of which he is the author are distinguished by a peculiar plaintiveness, and several of them are well worthy of being preserved. Some of our countrymen at Poona, who

entered the service of Pingley; but notwithstanding his humble origin, he was dignified in his manner, polite and affable in conversation, and, as a statesman, possessed of considerable ability. His avowed enmity to the alliance with the English was Bajee Rao's chief motive for selecting him as minister for their affairs; and during several months the Peishwa was at pains to show that circumstances alone had forced him to sign the articles of the treaty; but the success of the war, the protection which the presence of the British troops afforded, and the power, the security, and the comforts to which he had hitherto been a stranger, and which he soon experienced in the connection, not only reconciled him to it, but induced him to declare, and probably for a time with sincerity, that he considered the alliance as the most fortunate of events. The forts hitherto in possession of Amrut Rao or Nana Furnuwees were reduced and given up to the Peishwa; his country, which, for a time after his re-establishment, was overrun by freebooters, and exhausted from the effects of war and famine, even under the disadvantage of a pernicious revenue system, gradually recovered itself in most places; and his authority, at first scarcely acknowledged beyond the environs of Poona, soon became respected throughout his dominions.

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have leisure, may be induced to do so, before they are forgotten or corrupted by the general bad taste of the Deccan, which, according to a saying of the natives of Hindostan, is the grave of music.

The British force, although seldom required to be put in motion, was the chief cause of strengthening his authority by its presence, and gave a power and stability to his government which he had never known since his first accession to the musnud. Adherents were not long wanting, and a few had been faithful even in his adversity. Khundee Rao Rastia, sur-soobehdar of the Concan from the time of Bajee Rao's flight to his restoration, had shown great fidelity to his cause, and his respectable support was at first of much consequence to the Peishwa; but his influence was undermined by Sewdasheo Bhow Mankesir, who unjustly represented his being in league with the British resident in every measure proposed; and in a few years, on an accusation, never attempted to be proved, of corrupt practices in his government in the Concan, he was removed from office, and his jagheer was sequestrated. A.D. 1804. The year after the re-establishment of the Peishwa, Khundee Rao Rastia had an opportunity of performing a service of some importance. When Amrut Rao and Moroba Furnuwees joined General Wellesley, Baba Rao Phurkay went off with the Hoojrat Pagah,* and acted during the war with Rughoojee Bhonslay against the British government. After the peace, Baba Rao returned from Nagpoor, gave his followers the slip, and retired to Merich, where he was protected by Appa Sahib

* The Hoojrats, or household troops, were originally the raja's and afterwards the Peishwa's personal cavalry. Many of them were, to the last composed of the immediate dependants of the raja of Satara.

Putwurdhun, the son of Pureshram Bhow. His troops, thus left to themselves, plundered the country and erected the standard of insurrection; Bajee Rao had no disposable force, and the British troops could not at that time be spared to hunt down horse. Khundee Rao Rastia having formerly served with the men exciting these disturbances, had the address to effect an arrangement with the whole body, and brought them under the Peishwa's authority, at a critical time, when they might have committed infinite mischief. But Bajee Rao made no permanent provision for the commanders of the army, the soldiery of the country, nor the civil servants of the government. They had served the state under Nana Furnuwees, which was of itself a strong reason with him for excluding them from employment. His total disregard of their claims and their necessities must inevitably have increased the disorders prevalent on his restoration, and under ordinary circumstances, had he persevered in such a line of conduct, it probaly would have required the whole power of the British government to keep him on his musnud; but the severe famine of 1804 destroyed vast numbers of men and horses; a provision was thus opened to many of the remaining sillidars by the quantity of land and *wutun*, to which they succeeded by deaths amongst their relations and fellow-villagers; and as Sindia was then exchanging his Rajpoots and Mahomedans for Mahrattas, a great part of those persons who would have joined an insurrection became

interested in the tranquillity of the country, or were withdrawn to another scene.

Ballajee Luximon, the dewan of Wittul Nursing Vinchorkur, who, during his master's minority, managed the affairs of the jagheer, was a staunch adherent of the family of Rugoba, and one of the very few respectable men who to the last preserved a large share of Bajee Rao's confidence. He was appointed with the fullest powers sur-soobehdar of Candeish and Buglana; and a body of the Peishwa's infantry under Munohurgeer Gosaeen was sent to support him. But such was the state of those provinces that they were never restored to order under the Peishwa's government. Holkar's ravages had been followed by various plunderers; and the Bheels, who until 1802 had lived intermixed with the rest of the population, betook themselves to the mountains, and carried on precisely the same system of plunder as is now practised by the brigands of Italy and Spain.

One of the first acts of Ballajee, instigated by the Gosaeen, has left a stain on his memory which cannot be effaced. Finding it impracticable to reduce the Bheels by force, he inveigled the whole tribe of them, with their wives and families, to an interview at Kopergaom, on pretence of affording them a settlement, when they were treacherously seized, and most barbarously precipitated into wells, where the whole perished. This inhuman action had the effect, in some degree, of checking the Bheels about Chandore and the southern part of

Buglana; but to the northward, and along the Sautpoora mountains, it drove them to desperation, and they continued to molest the country.

During the war between Holkar and the British government, Futih Sing Manay returned to the Peishwa's territory, and recommenced his ravages to the south of the Neera with an army of nearly 10,000 men. But Bulwunt Rao Furnuwees, the mootaliq of the Pritee Needhee, assisted by the troops of Chintamun Rao Putwurdhun, planned a judicious attack on his camp, routed his troops, killed Futih Sing Manay, together with a great number of his followers, and completely dispersed them; after which he formally addressed a despatch, stating the particulars, to the Peishwa, who approved of the service performed, and was much gratified by this act of courtesy from the mootaliq of the Pritee Needhee. Bulwunt Rao was at this time chief director of his master's affairs. Pureshram Sree Newas, the son of the deceased Bowan Rao, Pritee Needhee, was a young man of some spirit, but of weak intellect and of dissolute morals. He was born on the day of his father's death, and during his minority had been kept in a state of tutelage by Nana Furnuwees, and reared with hereditary enmity to the house of Rugonath Rao. Bajee Rao, before his connection with the British government, had, with Sindia's assistance, laid a plan for seizing the Pritee Needhee in his own house at Poona; but it was frustrated by his bravery, and the exertions of one of his adherents, named Doulut Rao Ghatgay, by whose assistance he cut down the persons who laid hold of him,

A.D. 1805.

and immediately fled from Poona to his own jagheer at Kurar.

The management of his jagheer was in the hands of his mother, who was assisted by Bulwunt Rao Furnuwees, the mootaliq already mentioned. The Pritee Needhee wished to assume the control himself, and he was assured by his mother that he should be placed in authority; but being deceived by false hopes for a period of years, he at last determined on asserting his rights by force. Bajee Rao saw their differences with satisfaction, as he wished for a favourable opportunity of stripping the Pritee Needhee of his possessions; but this extreme measure he at first would not venture upon, as he apprehended that the Pritee Needhee might be supported by the Putwurdhuns. Pretending, therefore, to be anxious to mediate between the parties, he decided in favour of Bulwunt Rao Furnuwees, in which he was supposed to have been influenced by the good conduct of the mootaliq in suppressing the depredations of Futih Sing Manay. In order to support Bulwunt Rao, he sent a body of his troops under Bappoo Gokla to enforce submission, and the Pritee Needhee was placed in confinement by his mother in the gurhee of Mussoor. Gokla returned to Poona, the country was tranquillized, the adherents of Pureshram sought safety in concealment, and it was generally supposed that the Pritee Needhee would remain a prisoner for life. But Pureshram Sree Newas had a friend from whom no one expected his succour. His wife, one of the most respectable ladies in the country, perceiving the weakness and violence

A.D. 1806.

of her husband's character, had several years before endeavoured to bring him into his mother's views, which so exasperated the Pritee Needhee that he never afterwards would live with her. He chose as his mistress a Telin, or wife of an oil-seller, with whom he cohabited, and, to the great scandal of his caste, as a Bramin, made no secret of the connection. The Telin, after the Pritee Needhee was confined, had the address to obtain possession of the fort of Wassota, situated in a most inaccessible part of the Syhadree mountains, where, having collected some followers, she headed a party, attacked Mussoor, and
A.D. 1807. rescued the prisoner. As soon as the Pritee Needhee found himself at liberty, he hoisted his standard, declared himself the servant of the raja of Satara, and bound by no tie to obey the Punt Purdhan. The inhabitants of the tract between the Neera and Warnah, in which the Pritee Needhee's districts were situated, being prone to insurrection, the standard of rebellion soon found supporters, and some of the old retainers of the Pritee Needhee's family joined him. The temporary power thus obtained by the assemblage of a body of troops was, however, exceedingly abused. He committed great cruelties on such of the adherents of his mother and of Bulwunt Rao as fell into his hands; and he rendered himself odious to the peasantry by a system of plunder and extortion worthy of the lowest Pindhara. Had the Pritee Needhee possessed moderation and ability equal to his spirit, there were materials for a rebellion in that quarter, which Bajee Rao, unassisted by British troops,

could never have suppressed; but, before he had made adequate preparations for resistance, Gokla once more came against him; the few faithful sillidars who accompanied him, recommended his retiring to the hills, and raising the Ramoosees, until, like Chitoor Sing, he could attack with effect. Regardless, however, of this advice, he waited for Gokla, near Wussuntgurh; a few of his men stood by him, but most of them fled at the first charge.

The Pritee Needhee was supposed to have been killed; he was taken up by his enemies for dead; but although he had lost his hand, and was severely wounded in the head, he recovered, and was ever after, during the reign of Bajee Rao, confined in the city of Poona, where a small portion of his late extensive jagheer was assigned for his support; the remainder, without any separate provision for the opposite party, was sequestrated. Bulwunt Rao Furnuwees regretted the opportunity thus afforded to Bajee Rao by their differences when too late; the country was soon reduced, all the garrisons having surrendered excepting the fort of Wassota, which held out for eight months, when the Telin, after a spirited defence, surrendered, in consequence of a fire which destroyed her granary. The jewels and private property of the Pritee Needhee's family were seized by Bappoo Gokla, and never accounted for to the Peishwa. In order to prevent the odium likely to arise from having thus reduced the Pritee Needhee, Bajee Rao allowed Bappoo Gokla to retain possession of the conquered districts, as if they were kept

more as a punishment to the Pritee Needhee than as an advantage to himself. During the period Gokla retained possession of the conquered territory, his exactions were most severe, and, being supported by a large force, they were irresistible. By these means Bappoo Gokla became the wealthiest of the Peishwa's
A.D. 1808. sirdars. He succeeded to the command of his uncle's troops, when the latter was killed by Dhoondia Waug as already mentioned; but he owed his elevation chiefly to General Wellesley, whom he accompanied in the war of 1803, and, excepting Appa Dessaye Nepankur, was the only good officer in the immediate service of Bajee Rao.

Appa Dessaye's name is Seedojee Rao Nimbalkur; we have already had occasion to mention this person on more than one occasion, but about this period he became more conspicuous from the following circumstances.

About the year 1785, the petty states of Kolapoor and Sawuntwaree, always jealous of each other, went to war, because Luximee Bye, the wife of Kem Sawunt, dessaye of Waree, and niece of Mahadajee Sindia, had obtained some privileges of royalty for her husband from the Moghul emperor, through her uncle's all-powerful influence at the court of Delhi. With a few intermissions, and with various success, this warfare had continued for 23 years, when at last the troops of Kolapoor gained a victory over those of Sawuntwaree in a pitched battle fought at the village of Chowkul, and the fort of Waree was immediately besieged. Kem Sawunt had been dead some

years; he had left four widows, the eldest of whom, Luximee Bye, became regent on account of the minority of Kem Sawunt's only son by Dawee Bye, his third wife. Luximee Bye, when her capital was besieged, called in the aid of Wiswas Rao Ghatgay and Appa Dessaye. Wiswas Rao Ghatgay had been put in possession of two districts, called Chickooree and Menowlee, belonging to Kolapoor, by Shirzee Rao Ghatgay. His pretended right to dispose of them originated in their having been conquered by the first Mahdoo Rao, and bestowed on the family of Putwurdhun; and Sindia having authority for possessing himself of the sequestrated jagheer of the Putwurdhuns, Shirzee Rao, who had seized those two districts, made them over to his brother, Wiswas, when he was ordered by his son-in-law to join him in Malwa. Wiswas Rao would have been driven out of them by the raja of Kolapoor, but he was supported by Appa Dessaye, who afterwards took them for himself. The Peishwa, on the plea of wishing to avoid disputes with Sindia, pretended to take no concern in those districts,* but it was on the authority of his secret orders that Appa Dessaye seized them, and Bajee Rao at a subsequent period, in 1812, asserted his own claim to them on grounds which were admitted by the British government.

On the present occasion, when Luximee Bye applied for aid, Appa Dessaye, with the Peishwa's secret concurrence, readily afforded it; the siege of Waree was raised, and the territory of the Kolapoor raja above the Ghauts was invaded;

* Colonel Close's despatches, 5th May 1808.

so that the Kolapoor troops were recalled from the Concan to defend their own capital. Application was made to the British government for its mediation, but Lord Minto, then governor general, declined all interference; and the Peishwa, who was the principal cause of the disturbance, began to hint at his rights of supremacy over all parties—a disposition to encroachment which, if checked by the British authorities on its very first indication, would have been of essential importance to the stability of Bajee Rao's government.

Appa Dessaye, however, made himself complete master of Chickooree and Menowlee, and endeavoured to establish his authority over Sawuntwaree. The son of Kem Sawunt was strangled at the instigation of Appa Dessaye's carcoon, with the concurrence of Luximee Bye, and of Poond Sawunt, the next heir to the principality. But Appa Dessaye did not profit by this atrocious deed. Poond Sawunt, taking advantage of the weak state of Appa Dessaye's troops, the greater part being withdrawn to maintain the war above the Ghauts, drove them from the country, and possessed himself of the government.

A.D. 1809.

Luximee Bye died soon after, when Poond Sawunt found a rival, rather than a co-adjutor, in the person of Doorga Bye, the second widow of Kem Sawunt, and the daughter of a Mahratta officer named Khanwelkur.

In the meantime the utmost apparent cordiality subsisted between the British resident and the Peishwa's court. Bajee Rao, as often as he

could find a pretext, was prosecuting, with inflexible perseverance, his favourite plan of sequestrating the jagheers of all whom he considered the political opponents of his family, and appropriating their revenues to his own use. Whilst thus engaged, Bajee Rao was happy. On every occasion he enlarged on the blessings he enjoyed through his alliance with the British government; he professed the warmest affection and friendship for the resident, Colonel Close; and it is not probable that Bajee Rao, in all he thus expressed, was in a great measure sincere.

Colonel Close was in the habit of receiving all native visitors through an agent, a Parsee, named Khoosroojee, familiarly styled the Moodhee—a person of comprehensive judgment, and of great address, who soon attained considerable influence with his master. Sewdasheo Bhow Mankesir and the Moodhee soon formed a compact, and having united with them Byajee Naik, a Hoojrah, or personal servant of the Peishwa, by whom Byajee was much trusted as a spy, they contrived to persuade Bajee Rao that, by gaining Khoosroojee to his interests, he might command the services of the British residency—a proposal well suited to the mind of Bajee Rao, by whom no means were spared to attain an end so desirable.

The triumvirate, in all probability, participated in the spoils, and all intercourse, public as well as private, went on so agreeably by the agency of those persons that there was no cause of dissatisfaction. Any subject likely to occasion unpleasant discussion was either postponed, or so

arranged that, before being brought forward on either side, it was smoothed of its asperities, so that little difficulty remained in the adjustment.

The services of Colonel Close during this year were called for, on a very important occasion to Hyderabad, and he never returned to his situation at Poona. Mr. Henry Russell succeeded to the temporary charge of that residency until the return of Mr. Elphinstone from a mission to Cabul, and the same harmony continued to prevail. Khoosroojee, though a servant of the British residency, had been permitted to accept the high office of sursoobehdar of the Carnatic under the Peishwa's government, and he appointed as his deputy a Bramin named Bappoo Sawney.

A.D. 1810.

Mr. Elphinstone had been an assistant to Colonel Close at Poona before he was attached to General Wellesley's staff in the war of 1803, so that he took charge of his appointment as resident with considerable local information. Being in the habit of communicating with the natives direct, he saw all persons who had business, and discontinued the form of introduction through any one agent. This alteration, superadded to a quarrel which had taken place between Khoosroojee and Sewdasheo Bhow Mankesir, was a source of secret vexation and discontent to the former, as it so greatly tended to lesson his importance and his gains; but Khoosroojee had much personal influence with the Peishwa, which he unfortunately exercised in prejudicing his mind against the resident, by representing

A.D. 1811.

him as one who entertained the same sentiments as General Wellesley, whom Bajee Rao hated because he had opposed his schemes of vengeance against Amrut Rao and the family of Pureshram Bhow Putwurdhun. Several instances might be adduced of the effect which the Moodhee's insinuations produced on the mind of the Peishwa; but although many subjects hitherto kept back were now brought into discussion, in hopes of creating necessity of again interposing the agency of the Moodhee, Bajee Rao had soon reason to acknowledge the impartiality of the resident on the subjects from which his chief prejudice against him had arisen.

As soon as he had resumed the lands of the inferior jagheerdars who had ever been disobedient to himself, or who had taken an active part against his father, the Peishwa desired Bappoo Gokla to make over the Pritee Needhee's district to the state, and again brought forward his complaints and claims against other great jagheerdars, particularly the Putwurdhuns, Rastia, and the dessaye of Kittoor.

These persons, presuming on the protection already afforded to them by the British government, neglected to obey the orders of the Peishwa, and omitted to send their troops, which were now much wanted to defend the country from the Pindharees, whose inroads were every year becoming more powerful and destructive. When Bajee Rao embraced the British alliance, he wrote to the jagheerdars in question to assist the British troops. Most of them, being personally acquainted with General Wellesley, readily obeyed Bajee Rao's

orders, co-operated in his re-establishment, and were disposed to forget past injuries, until the rancorous revenge and studied aggressions of Bajee Rao completely alienated their minds. They were only deterred from supporting the Pritee Needhee's rebellion by the fear of the subsidiary force, and, had the interposition of the British government been withheld, they would, when joined to the Pritee Needhee, have probably effected another revolution, as it was estimated they could at that time bring into the field nearly 20,000 horse. In considering a plan of settlement between these jagheerdars and the Peishwa, several modes were discussed at a very early period by the British authorities. To have avowedly withheld support from both parties would have involved the country in war and confusion; to have assisted in the destruction of families, in whose favour so much might be urged, would have been unjust; and it would have been still more so to raise them into independent principalities under the guarantee of the British government. It therefore appear advisable to steer a middle course; and it was determined to enforce the service of their troops as due to the Peishwa, and to cause them to restore all usurped lands; but to guarantee their territory as long as they chose to abide by the tenor of their original engagement to the Poona state.

With this arrangement of the southern Mahratta country, it was resolved to combine the effectual suppression of piracy in the states of Kolapoor and Sawuntwaree, which, it was foreseen, could never be rooted out until some harbours and fortresses on the coast of

Malwan were placed in the hands of the British government.

The Putwurdhuns were very averse to acknowledge fealty to Bajee Rao, but they at last submitted, and complied with the conditions imposed by the British government. The raja of Kolapoor nearly lost his capital by the intrigues of the Peishwa, who secretly encourage him to resist the demands of the English, hoping that his general, Appa Dessaye, then besieging Kolapoor as if in his own quarrel, might be able to reduce it before the terms were accepted; whilst, on the other hand, in order to cause delay, he declared to the resident that the British government had no right to enter into a treaty with the raja of Kolapoor, who was his subject—an assertion as bold as it was false. Before any of the objects could be effected, Mr. Elphinstone found it necessary to assemble an army at Punderpoor, and move it down to the neighbourhood of the Kistna. In regard to the jagheerdars, besides what has been already stated in the general plan of settlement, Appa Sahib Putwurdhun was obliged to surrender the person of Baba Rao Phurkay—a concession to the Peishwa, on the part of the British government, which was very unpopular in the Mahratta country, and, although it may have been strictly just, the policy of the measure is questionable. Baba Rao was confined by the Peishwa in the fort of Bassein, where he shortly after died. By the terms tendered and accepted by the raja of Kolapoor, he renounced all right to Chickooree and Menowlee, which were ceded to the Peishwa; but all other places taken from

the raja, in consequence of the disputed right to these districts, were restored. To the British government the raja ceded the harbour of Malwan, which included the forts and island of Malwan or Sindeedroog and its dependencies; he also agreed to renounce piracy, to permit no armed vessels to be fitted out, or to enter his ports, on pain of becoming lawful prize to the British government, and to restore wrecks, as well as to assist vessels in distress. He also became bound for himself and his successors to pursue no manner of hostility against any other state without the consent of the British government. The British government renounced its long-existing claims against the raja, and became bound to guarantee his possessions against the aggressions of all foreign powers and states.

Poond Sawunt, dessaye of Sawuntwaree, was at the same time bound down to suppress piracy, to make over the fort of Vingorla and the battery of Gunaramo Tembe, with his port and limits; and, in case of being guilty of further piratical acts, the forts of Newtee and Rairee were likewise to be required of him. British merchants were to be allowed free ingress and egress to and from the dessaye's territory, on paying the customary duties; but all articles of consumption required for the British troops, stationed within the territory, were to pass duty free.

October 3.

Soon after the conclusion of the agreement, Poond Sawunt died, and Doorga Bye became regent. This old lady, regardless of the guarantee of the British Government, attacked the

possessions of the raja of Kolapoor, took the fort of Burratgurh, which had formerly belonged to Sawuntwaree, and refused to evacuate it. A British detachment from the Madras establishment was brought down to protect the Kolapoor territory, when she withdrew the garrison of Burratgurh, but continued to brave the threats and despise the arguments which were offered to deter or induce her to refrain from aggression. No retaliation was permitted against Doorga Bye till every reasonable proposal had failed, when the British troops were ordered to occupy some of the districts, with a view of forcing her into terms. No opposition was actually made, but the British troops were kept perpetually on the alert by threatend attacks, and thus was engendered a state of affairs, neither of peace nor of war, but which occasioned all the expense and inconvenience of the latter. Doulut Rao Sindia, though unconnected with the Waree state after the death of Luximee Bye, interested himself in behalf of Doorga Bye, and much discussion and correspondence resulted from her contumelious behaviour; nor did she desist from her vexatious opposition, until, in consequence of many hostile acts against the British government, her territory was reduced in the beginning of 1819 by a British force; but, after exacting the necessary securities, the principality of Sawuntwaree was left in its original independence.

In the meantime, although Bajee Rao was disappointed in the hope of being able to ruin the southern jagheerdars, they were compelled to bow before him. He could scarcely refrain from

insulting the Putwurdhuns when they came to pay their respects, and his exultation at getting Baba Rao Phurkay into his power knew no bounds. He was profuse in his acknowledgments and expressions of gratitude to the governor general and the resident; but he at the same time declared that he should wish not to have a single Surinjamee horseman* in his service, and proposed raising a brigade of infantry, to be disciplined entirely by European officers, and paid, like the British sepoys, direct from the treasury. To this proposal the governor general readily acceded, and Captain John Ford, of the Madras establishment, who had been long attached to the escort of Colonel Close, was, at the recommendation of Khoosroojee, selected by the Peishwa as commandant of the brigade, and able officers from the line, chosen by Captain Ford, were lent from the Bombay establishment to assist in its formation and discipline. The men, excepting a small proportion of Mahrattas, were chiefly raised in the company's provinces in Hindostan, and, on entering their battalions, swore fidelity to the Peishwa whilst he continued in alliance with the British government.†

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The cantonment allotted for this brigade was about four miles to the north-west of Poona. One brigade of British troops was stationed on a spot originally selected for the protection of the

* That is, horse furnished by jagheerdars.

† Oral information. If I am not mistaken, this condition was proposed and insisted upon by the Hindostan sepoys themselves, without its being suggested by their officers.

city in its immediate vicinity; and the rest of the British subsidiary force occupied a position about half-way between Poona and Ahmednugur, near the village of Seroor, on the river Ghore.

The Peishwa had soon a fresh instance of the utility of the British force, by finding it necessary to call in a part of it against Appa Dessaye, who, although he came to Poona on being ordered, refused to comply with certain claims devolving on the Peishwa by the late settlement, or to give up some territory belonging to the raja of Kolapoor. The British authorities interposed, but Bajee Rao artfully contrived by his intrigues to induce Appa Dessaye to trust to his lenity, and to resist the demands; by which insidious conduct the dessaye was led on to forfeit one-fourth of his jagheer to the Peishwa.

We have already alluded to the quarrel between Khoosroojee Moodhee and Sewdasheo Bhow Mankesir. Their differences likewise originated in the intrigues of the Peishwa, who, having been informed of their collusion, concluded, with some justice, that such a cable might as often act against him as for him, and he therefore determined on creating a division between them. It was with this view that he conferred the appointment of sur-soobehdar of the Carnatic on the Moodhee in preference to Sewdasheo Bhow, who would have been much gratified by it. The Moodhee was thus secured in Bajee Rao's interests, but the envy of Mankesir was excited, and he in a short time informed the Peishwa of the corrupt practices of the

Moodhee in the affairs of his government. These charges Bajee Rao secretly advised his minister to prefer to the resident, which was accordingly done; and as the Moodhee was a servant of the British government, they would have been immediately investigated, but the Peishwa's object being answered by the accusation from Mankesir,* he interfered to prevent the inquiry, and, as it related to an affair connected with his government, the proceedings were quashed at his request.† This intrigue answered its purpose by incensing Khoosroojee against the minister; and as *friendship*, according to the interpretation of the court of Bajee Rao, was to aid and to conceal the acquisition of corrupt emolument, the Peishwa secured the good-will of Khoosroojee; but the nature of the Moodhee's confidential situation at the residency being incompatible with his appointment as governor of a Mahratta province, he was afterwards required by Mr. Elphinstone to resign the one or the other, and he accordingly relinquished the latter.‡ Trimbukjee Dainglia was immediately appointed to the vacant office. Trimbukjee was originally a jasoos, or spy, and brought himself to the Peishwa's notice, when he fled to Mhar from the power of Holkar, by carrying a letter to Poona, and bringing back a reply in a very short space of

* The accusation was not made by Mankesir himself, but by three persons employed by him and the Peishwa.

† The above is from native information of respectability; but I am not cretain of the date, or whether Mr. Russell or Mr. Elphinstone was resident at the time. I think the former.

‡ Native information.

time. Being afterwards entertained on the personal establishment of the Peishwa, his activity, intelligence, and vigour soon became conspicuous; and by unceasing diligence, and, above all, by being pander to his vices, never hesitating to fulfil his wishes whatever they might be,* he gradually gained the confidence of his master, and was the only man who ever obtained it. When Gunput Rao Phansay, the respectable commandant of the Peishwa's artillery, was deprived of his jagheer, Trimbukjee was appointed commandant in his stead. He at first courted Mankesir and Khoosroojee; but having discovered their collusion, he disclosed it to the Peishwa, and though it did not, for some time, become apparent, he entirely supplanted Mankesir in his master's councils, and retained Khoosroojee in the manner already described.

Bajee Rao's success in bringing his jagheerdars under his authority encouraged him in more extensive plans for aggrandizing his power. He occasionally mentioned his claims on the Nizam, but as often as the resident prepared for entering on the investigation, Bajee Rao found some excuse for delay. He likewise spoke, at first distantly, of his claims on Sindia and Holkar, although sensible that they were dissolved by treaties to which he was himself a party; and he pressed, with seeming earnestness, early settlement of the debts due to him by the Gaekwar—a subject which had already for several years

* Trimbukjee once told Mr. Elphinstone in conversation—"If my master order me, I will kill a cow"—a declaration of servile devotedness, equally strong and impious.

occupied attention, and to which we shall presently advert.

Unfortunately for Bajee Rao, the low favourite whom he had chosen, and who had much of the character of Shirzee Rao Ghatgay, entertained a strong prejudice against Europeans, and his arrogant presumption and unprincipled mind were equal to any attempt. Bajee Rao, at first, in wishing to extend his power, entertained no hostile designs against the British government; but, elated by his increasing consequence, without reflecting from whence it was derived, and flattered by the suggestions of Trimbukjee, who tried to persuade him that he would recover by the force of his wisdom all that his ancestors had gained by their swords, he became irritated by opposition to his wishes, and was hurried forward, until he was overwhelmed in the intrigues and crimes which Dainglia led him on to perpetrate. In frequent consultations with the Moodhee and Trimbukjee, they advised him, before entering on the more important discussions with the British government, to increase his military establishment, which, without any design or appearance of hostility, would, they represented, tend to render him more respectable in the eyes of all India, and give weight to arguments with his allies. Of the benefit derived by the British government from the treaty of Bassein, the Moodhee, perhaps from conviction, impressed Bajee Rao with the most exaggerated opinion; and he may have thought, from the evident desire of conciliation which existed in the councils of the British government, that much

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would be conceded to avert a war. The annual inroads of the Pindharees, and a pilgrimage undertaken by Bajee Rao, for the second time, to a celebrated temple in the Carnatic, furnished ample excuse for raising troops, had a pretext been wanting, but the fact was, the resident had been constantly pressing on the attention of the minister the inadequate force maintained by the Peishwa for the protection of his country. Up to 1812, exclusive of the troops maintained by the jagheerdars and the Sebundees, or irregular infantry, employed in collecting the revenue, his army amounted to no more than 2,500 horse and 3,000 infantry. Four thousand horse were that year added to the establishment, and several hundreds each year subsequently; but instead of continuing to increase the levies of horse so useful to check the Pindharees, a large body of Gosaeen infantry was now entertained at Trimbukjee's suggestion; and Arabs, whose enlistment Bajee Rao had at one time not only prohibited, but had begged of the Bombay government to arrest on their route from the coast to his dominions, now met with every encouragement. An opportunity of exercising the new levies soon occurred by the refusal of Bappoo Sindia, killidar of Dharwar, to surrender that fortress. Having come to pay his respects to the Peishwa on his route to the Carnatic, Bajee Rao desired him to give up the fort to Trimbukjee. "If your highness," replied the killidar, "will send a gentleman to relieve me in the command, or if you will send a carcoon in your own name to whom I can commit my charge, your servant will present the keys to him, but I

will never give over the fort of Dharwar to such a person as Trimbukjee Dainglia." In consequence of this speech, as soon as he had reached the door of the Peishwa's tent, he was arrested, bound, and tortured by Trimbukjee, until a promise of surrender was extorted. His carcoon, a Bramin on whom the killidar could rely, was despatched with Trimbukjee, who, accompanied by a body of troops, proceeded to take possession; but, on approaching the gate, the carcoon begged permission to go on a few minutes in advance of the party, that he might speak to the garrison, and make some arrangements, when, no sooner had he got inside, than he shut the gate, and, on pretence of being detained by the garrison, opened a fire on Trimbukjee and his followers, who were obliged to retire with precipitation. This insult could not be resented at the time, nor until the Peishwa's return to Poona, when Dharwar was invested; but the faithful carcoon did not surrender until an order was obtained from his imprisoned master, through the interposition of Bappoo Gokla.

About this period the conduct of Khoosroojee Moodhee, which from the first had not escaped the resident's observation, became such as to render it necessary to remove him from Poona, in order to prevent, as far as possible, the bad effects of the dangerous opinions which he inculcated. His past services entitled him to all due consideration from the British government; and it would have been both difficult and ill-judged to have proved the circumstances by which he had forfeited his claim to its reward. A liberal provision was therefore made for him in his native province,

Guzerat; but, about the eve of his intended departure, he died by poison. Whether it was administered by others, or taken wilfully or accidentally by himself, could never be discovered, although the case underwent a long and strict investigation. If he knew more secrets with respect to foreign intrigues than Bajee Rao and Trimbukjee Dainglia thought fit to trust to any third person beyond their own power, his death may be imputed to their machinations; but it was the general opinion of the people at Poona that he had poisoned himself through a fear of the loss of reputation, when, by removal from power and office, his corrupt practices might become public. It is, however, remarkable that, in succession to this general report, the Peishwa, who had before quashed the proceedings against him, now became his accuser; and Bappoo Sawney, the deputy of the deceased, was called upon by Bajee Rao to account for the defalcation, bribery, and curruption of his master. During the proceedings Bappoo Sawney died suddenly—of fright, it was said, at what he might expect if proved delinquency threw him into the power of Trimbukjee Dainglia. This person, who had been for some time the chief director of the Peishwa's councils, was at last appointed his minister in the transaction of affairs with the British Government. He studied his master's humours, and attained entire ascendancy over his mind; his measures were vigorous, though marked by ignorance, violence, and treachery. His punishments were at once lenient and severe; robbery and murder might be compensated by a

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small fine, but a failure in a revenue contract was an unpardonable offence.

The Peishwa farmed his districts to the highest bidder; and those who failed in their contracts were compelled to surrender their whole property with that of their securities; and should all be insufficient, they were thrown into hill forts, and treated with the greatest rigour. On one occasion, Trimbukjee, before his power was completely established, being enraged at some delay on the part of a banker who had become security for a revenue contractor, used him in the harshest manner, and at last ordered the banker to be dragged before him, when he struck him a violent blow on the head, which, owing to a heavy ring on his finger, proved instantly fatal; but, although the person thus deprived of life was a Bramin of respectability,* no notice was taken of the circumstance.

These severities to the contractors did not deter others from adventuring on the same course; for Bajee Rao, who let the districts himself, was an adept in the art of flattery, and his manner plausible to a degee which few could resist. His court, which was gay and licentious beyond that of any other Peishwa, soon became agreeable to the generality of Bramins in Poona, and a high offer for a district was a sure way to the temporary notice of the prince. All his expenditure was regulated by contract. The net revenue of the state was about 120 lakhs of rupees, of which

* The banker's name was Sukharam Naik Loondee.

Bajee Rao saved annually about 50 lakhs, and had, at this period, collected treasure exceeding 50 millions of rupees. Whilst thus intent on amassing wealth, his time was divided in the encouragement of the grossest debauchery, and the practice of the most absurd superstitions. He aspired to a character for sanctity; was rigid in the observance of every form required by the rules of caste; and the murder of Narain Rao, attributed to his parents, was a subject of inquietude and remorse. To atone for their crime, he planted several hundred thousand mango trees about Poona, gave largesses to Bramins and religious establishments, and was particularly generous to the temple at Punderpoor. As an instance of his superstition may be mentioned a dream of one of his religious attendants, who declared he saw the ghost of Narain Rao, and that it had ordered a dinner for one hundred thousand Bramins—an entertainment which was immediately provided.

To the complaints of his subjects he never listened; and if the villagers endeavoured to approach his presence, they were driven away by the attendants. The farmers of the districts had generally the superintendence of civil and criminal justice, and their powers in this respect enabled them to increase their collections by fines and exactions. There was a nominal court of justice at Poona under a Shastree, who had a very large establishment. It was supported entirely by the corrupt emoluments which power enabled its members to draw from the public, and was so notoriously corrupt that the poorer

suitor, unless he had interest, or could bribe some great man of whom the Shastree stood in awe was certain to lose his cause.

Defective as the system was under Mahdoo Rao Bullal, the Shastree who then superintended and directed the Punchayets was a person of strict integrity, and that Peishwa's reign was always referred to as the times when a poor man had justice; even the administration of Nana Furnuwees was spoken of with applause; but Bajee Rao, the only Peishwa who had full leisure to amend the civil government, had neither ability nor inclination for the task.

He persevered in his plan of sequestrating jagheers, and Mahdoo Rao Rastia having failed to produce his quota of horse for muster, the Peishwa represented to the British resident this departure from what was stipulated as wilful disobedience to his authority. The agreement in question being one of those concluded through the interposition of the British government, Rastia was called upon by the resident to fulfil his engagement with the Peishwa, otherwise he must abide by the consequences. Rastia hesitated, declared his inability to furnish so many horse, owing to the disobedience of the Duflays, who were jagheerdars under him, and, by the Peishwa's usual artifice, was secretly encouraged to believe that by trusting to his lenity, more favourable terms might be obtained. It was in vain that the resident represented his situation in its true colours, and warned him of his ruin; he steadfastly refused compliance, and was stripped by the Peishwa of all his possessions.

Every day made it more evident that the Peishwa's government was now aiming at the revival of the old Mahratta policy, and was running a course equally incompatible with the Peishwa's alliance and his political existence, unless it were expected that he could overturn the British government. By Trimbukjee's advice he had sent agents in the preceding year* to the courts of Sindia and Rughoojee Bhonslay; he also despatched an envoy† to Holkar, with whose court Bajee Rao had never before held any friendly communication; but, what was still more extraordinary, he sent an agent‡ to reside with the Pindharee, and had a secret interview at Kopergaom with some of their chiefs. The object of his missions to the Mahratta courts above named was to negotiate a secret treaty of general confederacy and support, which was actually concluded. The declared intention seems to have been for the purpose of strengthening themselves, and uniting together in case the British government should meditate further encroachment on any of the states concerned, or to act offensively against the British should an opportunity arise, either in consequence of their expected failure in the Nepaul war, then going forward, or on any future occasion; but those of his countrymen who know Bajee Rao best are of opinion that, notwithstanding these

* Trimbukjee is supposed to have held communication with Sindia and Rughoojee Bhonslay as far back as 1811, no doubt with his master's approbation.

† The envoy was a Bramin, named Gunnesh Punt.

‡ This agent was a Mahratta, his name Kistnajee Gaekwar,

extensive and apparently well-ordered intrigues, he had neither a fixed plan, nor any serious intention of making war upon the English at this period; certain it is, however, that his measures were such as would have subjected him to the loss of his musnud, had the facts been formally substantiated and strict justice enforced.

His next scheme was to establish his ascendancy in Guzerat. Like his claims on the Nizam, he frequently expressed a wish to have his affairs with the Gaekwar settled; but as often as the wish was met by the British government, he contrived to delay the adjustment. There had been no settlement between the Gaekwar and the Peishwa since the accession of Govind Rao. On the suppression of the rebellion of Abba Shelookur, the Baroda government agreed, as already mentioned, to hold Ahmedabad in farm from the Peishwa, including the tribute of Kattywar, with Pitlaud, Nappar, Coura-Ranpoor, Dhundooka, Gogo, and some rights in Cambay, for the annual sum of five lakhs of rupees. When the Bombay government sent the detachment into Guzerat to support the party of Rowjee Appajee at Baroda, the government was fast approaching to that state of anarchy and confusion in which the dominions of Sindia and Holkar were afterwards involved. This fine province was in a great degree preserved from similar misery by the active interference of the British government under the able arrangements of Lieutenant-Colonel Walker, the resident. The revenues of the state amounted to 55 lakhs of rupees, and its expenditure to 82. The power of the government was, as we have seen, in the

hands of a body of Arab mercenaries, and the divisions in the family of Gaekwar afforded a wide field of hope and of profit to military adventurers of all descriptions, who abound in that quarter. The Arabs were driven out; the debts, exclusive of the heavy balance due to the Peishwa, were compromised for a sum less than 42 lakhs; and money was raised on the security, or advanced from the treasury, of the British government for its liquidation. Mulhar Rao Gaekwar, whose rebellion brought the English permanently to Baroda, went off from Neriad, as the reader may recollect, about the time when the Arabs were besieged in Baroda. He was afterwards, when nearly famished, taken prisoner by Babajee, commander of the Gaekwar's troops, delivered over to the charge of the British government, and long kept a prisoner at large in the fort of Bombay, or its environs, where he ended his days. Kanhojee surrendered himself in 1808, and at first was allowed his liberty and an ample pension; but his natural turbulence and love of intrigue could ill-brook the undisturbed calm of such a life. In a short time he forfeited the advantages he enjoyed, engaged in plots against the existing government, and was finally conveyed to Madras as a state prisoner.

The collection of the tribute in Kattywar required a considerable force every year from Baroda. The Mahrattas give the name of Kattywar to the whole western peninsula of Guzerat, although strictly applicable to one district only of that extensive tract which derives its name from the Kattees, a very peculiar race, who

worship the sun. The whole region is inhabited by a warlike people, chiefly Jarejah Rajpoots, who are under separate chiefs, and whose internal divisions had early made them an easy prey to the plundering bands of Kantajee Kudum Banday and Dummajee Gaekwar. The resident, attended by a British force, repeatedly accompanied the Gaekwar's army, and contributed much to tranquillize the province, and to improve its revenues. He also humanely exerted himself, though in the end with little success, to suppress the barbarous practice of female infanticide, to which the Jarejah Rajpoots are prone. From all these circumstances the Baroda government fell much under the control of the British resident; but as Lieutenant-Colonel Walker was enabled to direct its principal acts without paralyzing its internal authority, much benefit resulted to the country from his superintendency.

The ministry was chiefly composed of a set of Purvoes, a caste frequently remarkable for great fidelity and bravery, and, when poor, they are often frugal to parsimony; but it may be observed of the Purvoes, that wherever they attain power and can command wealth, they are lavish and improvident. The head of this ministry was Rowjee Appajee, who died in July 1803; but having previously adopted his nephew, Seetaram Rowjee, as his son, he was, with the consent of the resident, appointed his successor. After a patient trial of his ability and resources, Seetaram was found incompetent to the duty, and his uncle Babajee, hitherto at the head of the army, was invited to assist him. Futih Sing, the brother of

the Gaekwar, and the heir apparent, whose liberty had been purchased from one of Holkar's commanders who carried him off from Poona in 1803, was also at the same time brought into the administration. Futih Sing chose as his secretary Gungadhur Shastree, originally in the service of the Phurkay family at Poona, and a man of considerable activity and address, who had been very useful to the resident in the important measures he had effected. Lieutenant-Colonel Walker placed the highest confidence in the integrity and fidelity of the Shastree, and upon the death of Babajee, and great misconduct on the part of Seetaram, Gungadhur Shastree, supported, as he was, both by Futih Sing and the resident, soon became prime minister in all but the name.

The first arrangement of any importance which took place between the government of Poona and that of Baroda, after the treaty of Bassein, was the settlement of the farm of Ahmedabad and its dependencies.

The former agreement was made in October 1800, and the term of its duration was to have been five years; but as Ranpoor, Gogo, Dhundooka, and the Peishwa's rights in Cambay were ceded to the British government by the treaty of Bassein, the Gaekwar was anxious to obtain a perpetual lease of the remainder, as the evils divided authority would be avoided, and his own districts become more valuable in consequence. The British government was equally desirous of having the farm continued, both for the reasons mentioned, and because much confusion and oppression were likely to be averted by the

arrangement. The Peishwa, on these representations, and upon condition of receiving five and a half lakhs of rupees for the remaining districts, consented, without difficulty, to allow the Gaekwar to retain them for ten years, from June 1804, and a new agreement was concluded accordingly. But at the expiration of the period, the Peishwa's views were entirely altered, and five times the amount of the sum realized from the districts could not compensate, in his estimation, for the advantages of an increased political influence on the side of Guzerat; nothing could induce him to renew the lease. Long, however, before the period of renewal, the question of his claims upon the Gaekwar had become a subject of attention with the British authorities.

The governor general deemed it advisable to allow the two states to settle their affairs by direct negotiation, and to desire that the arbitration of the British government should not be resorted to, except in the event of a failure on their part to effect an accommodation. At an earls stage of the discussions, an agent of the Gaekwar government, named Bappoo Myraul, was sent to Poona. The debts of the Gaekwar to the Peishwa, according to the statements of the latter, which appear to have been correct, amounted to nearly a crore of rupees; but as the chief cause of the embrassments of the Baroda government originated in the attachment of the family to the cause of his father, Bajee Rao generously acceded to the relinquishment of 60 lakhs of rupees of this demand. The Baroda

government, without claiming exemption as matter of favour, advanced counter-claims on the following grounds.

When Dummajee gave up half of Guzerat to Ballajee Bajee Rao, in 1751, he retained his rights in Baroach undivided, and the Peishwa got Jumbooseer and some other districts as an equivalent for his share. By the treaty of Baroda, in 1775, Rugonath Rao obtained from Futih Sing Gaekwar the cession of his rights in Baroach for the East India Company; and by the treaty of Poorundhur, although the Poona ministry had no power to alienate Baroach from the Gaekwar it was wholly ceded to the British government. It was in vain that Futih Sing demanded his rights in Baroach from the English who kept them, or from the Peishwa who had given them away; and although, when the war was renewed, General Goddard put Futih Sing in possession of several of the Peishwa's districts, he was compelled to relinquish them by the treaty of Salbye. Mahadajee Sindia, on the conclusion of that pacification, obtained Baroach from the British government: with Sindia's successor it remained, until it fell, by right of conquest, to the English in 1803; and the Gaekwar now advanced a demand on the Peishwa for the amount of his share of its revenue since the treaty of Poorundhur.

His other counter-claims were on account of expenses incurred in reducing the rebellion of Aba Shelookur, and in maintaining an extraordinary number of troops for the defence of the

Peishwa's, as well as of his own, possessions in Guzerat. These intricate claims occasioned infinite discussion; and when Bajee Rao adopted the plans of Trimbukjee, he threw every obstacle in the way of a settlement, because the outstanding demands on Baroda and Hyderabad were reserved as a means of communicating with these courts; from which, owing to the nature of their engagements with the British government, his intrigues might otherwise have been excluded. Bappoo Myraul, the Gaekwar's agent at Poona, a sensible, upright man, and of a cautious, observant disposition, was soon found unfit for the Peishwa's purpose. Some other agent must be sent with whom the settlement could be conducted. The Gaekwar's government, therefore, resolved on sending Gungadhur Shastree, both for the adjustment of the accounts, and for obtaining a renewal of the lease of the Peishwa's share of Guzerat.

Accordingly the Shastree proceeded to Poona; but such was the general dread of the violent and unprincipled conduct of the power-
A.D. 1814. ful Trimbukjee towards all who opposed his wishes, that the Gaekwar asked and obtained the formal guarantee of his minister's safety from the British government. As early as September 1811, it had been proposed to send Gungadhur Shastree to Poona, the proposal was at that time readily and distinctly acceded to by the Peishwa; but on the Shastree's arrival, in 1814, Bajee Rao objected to him, and even refused to see him, on the plea of his having been insolent

to him when a carcoon in the service of Phurkay. The fact was, the Baroda minister, Seetaram Rowjee, jealous of the Shastree, and already seduced by the Peishwa, represented the Shastree as a person wholly in the interests of the English.

It must be explained that Bajee Rao, on the decline of Seetaram Rowjee's influence at Baroda, attempted, with success, to gain him to his views; and on the resident's discovering the intrigue, and protesting against it, the Peishwa first denied, and afterwards justified, the correspondence, by endeavouring to prove his right to appoint the dewan at Baroda, according to the ancient practice in the plenitude of the Peishwa's power. Such a right, in regard to the Senaputtee or his mootaliq, Gaekwar, never did exist of the part of the Peishwa; but, without reference to the alleged right, or the object of the intrigue, the reasons urged did not appear sufficient, in Mr. Elphinstone's opinion, for the Peishwa's refusing to transact business with the accredited agent of a government in alliance with the nation which he represented, especially after having once assented to his mission: the Peishwa's objections were therefore overruled.

The proposed renewal of the lease of Ahmedabad, for reasons already explained, was positively rejected by the Peishwa; and Trimbukjee, having obtained the appointment of sur-soobehdar, prepared his troops and agents, who, in the Peishwa's name took possession of the districts in Guzerat, and very soon commenced a systematic plan of insurrection and intrigue, which threatened

throw the whole country into confusion and disorder.* No better success attended the other objects of the mission to Poona; and the Shastree, at last, with the concurrence of the resident, determined to return to Baroda, and leave the questions to the arbitration of the British government.

This determination produced a marked change towards the Shastree in the conduct and demeanour of the Peishwa and Trimbukjee, who, foreseeing that they should thus be shut out from Baroda, resolved to spare no pains in gaining the Shastree to their interests. It was just at this period that Trimbukjee was appointed to carry on the communications between his master and the British government.

A.D. 1815.

The Shastree was induced to postpone his departure, and every means was employed to conciliate his regard and confidence. Trimbukjee assailed him on the side of his vanity, which was the weak point of the Shastree's character, and persuaded him that the Peishwa, in admiration of his talents, both throughout the negotiation in which he was then opposed to his government, and in regard to what he had effected at Baroda, had resolved to appoint him his own minister. As a proof of the sincerity of this proposal, the Peishwa offered his sister-in-law in marriage to

* In the rains of 1815, the British troops in the cantonment at Kaira, their usual strength being much reduced at the time, were for several nights in expectation of being attacked in their lines by the Koolees, who are very numerous in that quarter, and were excited against the British government by Trimbukjee's agents.

the Shastree's son and acceded to an adjustment of the Gaekwar's affairs for a territorial cession, on a plan suggested by the Shastree, though without consulting his own court or obtaining the sanction of the British authority. Every arrangement was made for the intended nuptials, when the Shastree, having received no reply from the Gaekwar respecting the territorial cession, became apprehensive that it might be supposed he was neglecting his master's interests in forwarding his own, hesitated and suspended the solemnization of the marriage, after great expense had been incurred by preparations. This conduct was deeply resented; and the refusal of the Shastree to permit his wife to visit the Peishwa's palace, or to witness the scenes of gross debauchery to which every lady who entered it was subjected, was an offence which Bajee Rao never forgave in him or in any other person. Trimbukjee, however, affected to treat the Shastree with more cordiality and friendship than ever.

The Peishwa proceeded on a pilgrimage to Punderpoor, and the Shastree accompanied him, although his colleague, Bappoo Myraul, warned him of his danger, and begged that he might at least be permitted to attend him; but the infatuated man would neither listen to his advice, nor allow him to be of the party. At Punderpoor, on the night of the 14th July, Gungadhur Shastree, who had that day dined with the Peishwa, was invited by Trimbukjee to repair to the temple, for the purpose of paying his devotions on an occasion of particular solemnity. The Shastree, being a little indisposed, excused himself, but upon earnest and

reiterated entreaties he at last complied. With a few unarmed attendants, he proceeded to the temple, where he performed his devotions, conversed with Trimbukjee, and payed his respects to the Peishwa, who was seated in the upper veranda of the temple, and on that occasion treated him with particular condescension.

The unfortunate Shastree, who, like many others, could never resist the agreeable manners of Bajee Rao, quitted his presence in the highest spirits, and set out on his return; but he had scarcely proceeded 300 yards when he was attacked in the street, and almost literally cut in pieces. Trimbukjee Dainglia hired the assassins; two agents of Seetaram Rowjee from Baroda assisted in pointing out the Shastree; and the Peishwa, if he did not instigate, approved of the murder, which was rendered peculiarly atrocious in a Hindoo, by being not only perpetrated on a Bramin, but upon the consecrated ground of Punderpoor, a place of extraordinary sanctity. As Bajee Rao and Trimbukjee denied all knowledge or participation in the deed, the resident, who at the Peishwa's request had not accompanied him to Punderpoor, called for an immediate inquiry into the circumstances for the satisfaction of the British government: but no investigation took place. The general voice of the country pronounced Trimbukjee the perpetrator of the murder; Bappoo Myraul openly accused him of it, and the resident instituted a very minute and strict inquiry, which clearly established his guilt. The Peishwa was called upon to place him under restraint, and afterwards to deliver him up to the British government; but

he refused compliance, evaded the demand, and for a time seemed resolved to stand or fall with his favourite. Being, however, unprepared for extremities, and the British troops being assembled at Poona, his natural timidity prevailed over every other sentiment, and on the 25th September he delivered up Trimbukjee, whom he had previously sent into confinement in the fort of Wussuntgurh. The two agents of Seetaram, being deeply implicated, were seized at the same time, and delivered to the Gaekwar, by whom they were confined in hill-forts. Seetaram, who, in conjunction with the agents of Trimbukjee, had been levying troops whilst the Peishwa hesitated to deliver up his favourite, was removed from the administration at Baroda, and taken into custody by the British government. This measure was much against the inclination of the regent Futih Sing, who on this occasion betrayed symptoms of being himself swayed by the intrigues of the court of Poona.

Trimbukjee was confined by the British government in the fort of Tannah, on Salsette, whence he effected his escape over the wall between seven and eight o'clock of the evening of the 12th September.* The guard over Trimbukjee, owing probably to excessive precaution, had no mixture of sepoys upon it, but was composed entirely of Europeans. From this circumstance, the Peishwa was able to communicate with Trimbukjee, and, for some days previous to his making the attempt, several of his

A.D. 1816.

* Trimbukjee, in conversation with different officers on his guard at Tannah, before he had any hopes of escape, admitted the murder, but said he had merely obeyed his master's orders.

friends and servants were waiting in the neighbourhood with full expectation of his joining them. The principal agent of communication was a Mahratta horsekeeper, in the service of one of the officers in the garrison, who passing and re-passing the window of Trimbukjee's place of confinement, when in the act of airing his master's horse, sung the information he wished to convey, in an apparently careless manner, which the Europeans, from want of sufficient knowledge of the language, could not detect. The difficulties of this escape were exaggerated into an exploit worthy of Sivajee, and greatly contributed to raise the fame of Trimbukjee amongst his countrymen, with whom it gained him a degree of popularity which he had never enjoyed while in power. He confided his safety to the Bheels, Ramoosees, and Mangs, and resided chiefly in the hills about Nassuck and Sungumnere sometimes in Candeish and Buglana, and frequently amongst the Mahdeo hills towards Satara, but never in the original haunts of Sivajee, where he would not have been safe. This circumstance is to be accounted for in his having treacherously seized Chitoor Sing, who was extremely popular in that part of the Mahratta country.

Chitoor Sing, since we had last occasion to mention him, after the battle of Poona in 1802 had served in most parts of India. He was conspicuous in the charge made upon the 74th regiment at the battle of Assaye,* and was afterwards

* I know this circumstance from Jeswunt Rao Ghorepuray, who was himself in that charge, and with Chitoor Sing.

in the armies of Holkar, Umeer Khan, and the Rajpoots. In 1812 he was returning home through Candeish, when Trimbukjee seduced him to a conference, took him prisoner, loaded him with irons, and threw him into the fort of Kangooree in the Concan. Many vain attempts were made by his partizans to effect his rescue, till at last a Gosaeen of the same name, aided by some of the Ramoosee chiefs, taking advantage of the interest felt for him in the country, gave out that Chitoor Sing had escaped, and obtained possession of the fort of Prucheetgurh, by a daring and well-planned enterprize, suggested, it is said, by a traditionary account of one of Sivajee's exploits.* They afterwards took many other forts, and raised a formidable insurrection, which, though generally kept in check by the troops of Bappoo Gokla, was never reduced by the Peishwa's government. Their real object was plunder, but their avowed purpose was the re-establishment of the Mahratta sovereignty, and the release of the raja of Satara; and had Trimbukjee Dainglia fallen into their hands, they would have put him to death; Chitoor Sing lingered in prison at Kangooree, where he died in the end of April 1818. His brother Shao died at Satara, 3rd May 1808, and was succeeded by his son, Pertab Siew, or Sing, the present raja, then in his sixteenth year.

However strong the suspicion of the Peishwa's connivance at the escape and concealment of Trimbukjee, there was no proof of the fact; and

* The manner of it has already been explained in a note on Sivajee's life, chapter 4, page 118.

as it was thought he would rest satisfied in having effected his freedom, little notice was taken of the circumstance. Sewdasheo Bhow Mankesir was again called into the Peishwa's councils; Moro Dixit, a student of Bassein, and Chimnajee Narain both Concanist Bramins, who, like most of Bajee Rao's courtiers, had gained the favour of their prince by the dishonour of their families, were likewise employed in the administration; and Captain Ford, the commandant of the regular brigade, in whom the Peishwa placed considerable confidence, because his prosperity depended on the stability of his government, was frequently the channel of communication between the British residency and the Peishwa's ministers. The utmost cordiality seemed to prevail between the court and the residency at Poona; but nothing could be more deceitful on the part of Bajee Rao. He was now engaged in the most active negotiations with Sindia, Holkar, the raja of Nagpoor, Umeer Khan, and the Pindharees against the British government; he made great additions to his army, and supplied Trimbukjee with large sums of money, directing him to raise troops at different places, in his own territory, which, even if discovered by the British government, might appear to be plundering Pindharees or insurgents. The resident, who had early and exact information of Trimbukjee's secret proceedings, applied to the minister to ascertain whether the assembly of such troops was authorised or not by the Peishwa; and he was assured, not only that it was not authorised, but that no such assembly existed. Mr. Elphinstone

A. D. 1817.

was therefore bound to consider it an insurrection; he told the minister that such levies were going forward; that the principal body was assembling near Nattapoota, a village south of the Neera, within 50 miles of Poona, and he begged that immediate steps might be taken for its dispersion. Although the minister continued to deny the existence of any assembly of troops, a part of Bappoo Gokla's horse was sent down, as was pretended, for the resident's satisfaction. They quietly occupied a position in the very district where insurgents were collecting, but declared they could hear nothing of them. The Peishwa also persisted in denying all knowledge of Trimbukjee, or of an insurrection, and called on the resident, if he really did believe such an absurd report, to take his own measures for suppressing it. It was by this time known to the resident that the Peishwa, during a visit to the country, had invited and positively given Trimbukjee an audience at Phoolshuhur, within 17 miles of Poona; but what made this meeting the more remarkable is the fact, afterwards ascertained, that Trimbukjee came there attended by a large body of horse, who surrounded the village during the interview. The subsidiary force was then in an advanced position, near Jaffeirabad, for the purpose of protecting the country from the ravages of the Pindharees, and of assisting in giving effect to political measures to the northward; but it was now, with the consent of the governor general, ordered to act against the insurgents. Whilst two detachments of the Madras army advanced to the frontiers of the Nizam's territory—the one to Tooljapoor, the

other to Beder—Colonel Lionel Smith, who commanded the Poona subsidiary, marched to the Neera with a light division, leaving his reserve to follow at leisure. The insurgents had moved from Nattapoota to Jhutt; but, on Colonel Smith's approach, they countermarched, and passed by a rugged and unfrequented route through the Mahdeo hills; Colonel Smith followed them, but they had gained many hours' march before the division got into their tract; the pursuit, however, was taken up by a party of infantry from the reserve, under Major Smith of the Madras native infantry, who, after a persevering march, surprised and killed several of them; but they had previously marked their course by several acts of atrocity, particularly by the murder of Lieutenant Warre of the Madras artillery. The object of this body in moving to the northward was to join another party, assembled in Candeish under Trimbukjee's relation, Godajee Dainglia; but, before their arrival, Lieutenant Evan Davies, of the Bombay establishment, at the head of a body of the Nizam's horse, had attacked and dispersed the troops of Godajee.

The existence of the insurrection could be no longer denied by the Peishwa; orders were therefore issued to the jagheerdar of Vinchoor to act against them; and some time after, a letter from the Vinchorkur, with a fictitious account of their attack and dispersion, was sent for the perusal of the resident, and the officer commanding the subsidiary force.

In the meantime the Peishwa continued to levy troops, both cavalry and infantry; every

endeavour was used to induce him to desist; he was warned of the consequences of such proceedings, and of the dangerous course he had followed in abetting the insurgents, and thus evincing intentions decidedly hostile to the British government. But he still persevered; the language of his ministers assumed a peremptory tone, and they demanded from the resident whether he intended war or peace. Mr. Elphinstone, in order that nothing might be wanting to bring the Peishwa to a sense of his situation, had suspended the intercourse between the residency and the Poona court about the time when Colonel Smith proceeded against the insurgents; he now, in expectation of receiving instructions from the governor general, directed Colonel Smith to move towards Poona with the light division, acquainting the Peishwa with his having done so; the plan he pursued was to proceed gradually, giving the Peishwa time to correct his errors, if so disposed, at the same time relaxing nothing of the steadiness and dignity which became the representative of the British nation. Many reasons, however, combined to render it advisable to bring matters to an issue. The insurgents gained ground in Candeish; a fort fell into their hands; the Peishwa's levies, and the repairs of his forts, which had been going on for some time, proceeded with great activity, and as the rainy season approached, it was apprehended the Peishwa might betake himself to a hill-fort, inaccessible at that season, and commence a war which must be protracted, and would probably encourage all the Mahratta powers to unite in his

cause. At this important crisis the communication between Calcutta and Poona was interrupted by disturbances in Kuttack; but, in the absence of the expected instructions, Mr. Elphinstone had fortunately received a private letter from the secretary to the governor general, which mentioned the surrender of Trimbukjee Dainglia as an indispensable preliminary to any new settlement whatever. On this information he determined to act without delay. Having intimated a desire to communicate with the minister, the Peishwa requested to see him, and throughout a long conference displayed an unusal degree of coolness and self-possession. He entered into a warm and most eloquent defence of himself; reverted, as usual, to his obligations to the British government, and spoke with so much apparent reason and candour of his own situation, and of the consequences of the conduct and views imputed to him, that any person who had not considered the weight of the evidence, and fully understood the character of Bajee Rao, must have felt disposed to give credit to the soundness of his arguments, even if he had been inclined to doubt the sincerity of his protestations. But whilst his actions contradicted his words, Mr. Elphinstone was not to be deceived; he tried, however, by every means, both during the conference and subsequently, to induce the Peishwa to prove the sincerity of his professions, and avert the danger by which he was threatened; he distinctly told him that Trimbukjee Dainglia must be delivered up, or not suffered to remain in his territory, and that the consequences of a refusal must involve

the state in immediate hostilities. At last, after several days had passed in this manner, the resident formally demanded the seizure of Trimbukjee in the space of one month, and the immediate delivery of three principal forts—Singurh, Poorundhur, and Raigurh—as a pledge for the fulfilment of the demand. Bajee Rao still under an impression of the high importance of his alliance to the British government, believed that the resident would not proceed to extremities; and he hoped that, without making such a humiliating concession, or surrendering pledges so important, he should be able to temporize until the season was advanced, and should fine time to call into operation, with full effect, the extensive confederacy planned by himself and his favourite. Even when Mr. Elphinstone, on the 7th of May, intimated his determination to surround the city of Poona, Bajee Rao still refused compliance with the terms required. At last, at one o'clock in the morning, the Peishwa sent a messenger in hopes that the resident might be induced to postpone or to relinquish his intention: and

May. 8.

it was only on finding him steady to his purpose that the messenger told him he was instructed to comply with his demands. During the discussion the day had dawned; the troops were moving round the city, and had completely surrounded it before the resident could reach the head of the line. They were withdrawn as soon as the order for the surrender of the forts was sent out: and the Peishwa, as if at length sensible to his situation, and resolved to give up his favourite, issued a proclamation, offering

rewards for the seizure of some of Trimbukjee's adherents, and a sum of two lakhs of rupees, and an enam village of 1,000 rupees a year, to any person who should bring in Trimbukjee Dainglia, dead or alive. He likewise seized some of Trimbukjee's adherents, sequestrated the property of others concerned in the insurrection, and manifested an apparently strong desire to comply with the recommendation of his allies. Although these proceedings did not deceive his own subjects, and the proclamation, without the Peishwa's cordial concurrence, was of little importance to the apprehension of Trimbukjee, still it seemed reasonable to admit these acts as a concession of that preliminary, without which no proposals for present satisfaction or future security would have been received by the British authorities.

The instructions of the governor general, which reached Poona on the 10th of May, were framed for the purpose of circumscribing the Peishwa's power, of imposing such restrictions as should prevent the evils apprehended from the course of policy pursued by the Court of Poona for several years, and of obviating inconveniencies found to exist in the performance of the articles of the treaty of Bassein.

A new treaty was therefore drawn up, by which, in order to make the foundation of the whole proceedings, the Peishwa was compelled to admit the guilt of Trimbukjee Dainglia as the murderer of Gungadhur Shastree, the accredited agent of the Gaekwar state, residing under the guarantee of the British Government within

the Peishwa's territory, and his consequent obligation to seize and deliver him up to the British Government; until the accomplishment of which, the family of Trimbukjee Dainglia were to be given over as hostages.

The Peishwa engaged to have no communication with any foreign power whatever, neither to send nor to receive wukeels, and, as head of the Mahratta empire, renounced all rights beyond the boundary of his own dominions between the Toongbuddra and Nerbuddah; he relinquished all future demands on the Gaekwar, and agreed to compromise all past claims on him for the annual sum of four lakhs of rupees. He also agreed to let the farm of Ahmedabad to the Gaekwar for four and a half lakhs of rupees a year, exclusive of the tribute of Kattywar and his other rights in Guzerat, which were dismembered by another article. Instead of furnishing the contingent of 5,000 horse and 3,000 infantry required by the treaty of Bassein, he agreed to cede territory yielding 34 lakhs of rupees for that purpose. This cession included Dharwar and Kooshgul with some undefined districts in the Carnatic, the Concan north of Bombay, and the Peishwa's revenue in Guzerat, except Ahmedabad and Oolpar; but Ahmedabad was subsequently included. The Peishwa also ceded the fort of Ahmednugur, together with all his rights north of the Nerbuddah; he recognised the settlement with the jagheerdars concluded in 1812; and, at the recommendation of the British government, restored the jagheer of the unfortunate Mahdoo

Rao Rastia; finally, he renounced Mailghut, a possession on the Nizam's frontier, which the Peishwa's troops had occupied in 1811.

In consequence of this treaty, by which important advantages were secured to the Gaekwar's government, a new arrangement was concluded with him, which had for its object the consolidation of the territories of the respective governments, and also to impose on the Gaekwar a more adequate proportion of the military charges of the province of Guzerat than he had been hitherto called upon to bear; for, although his irregular troops were maintained at a great expense, they were found wanting in efficiency, and the duty, as well as extra charges of field service, fell upon the British government. It was therefore proposed that a part of the irregulars should be discharged, that the subsidiary force maintained, by the Gaekwar should receive an addition of 1,000 regular infantry and two regiments of cavalry; and that districts, lying conveniently for the meditated consolidation, should be assigned to the British government for defraying the additional expense. To this plan the Baroda government acceded, and a treaty to that effect was concluded on the 6th November.*

* The above chapter is on the authority of English records and oral information, Mahratta MSS. and personal observation.

CHAPTER XVII.

FROM A.D. 1814 TO A.D. 1817.

The Marquis of Hastings assumes charge of the government of British India.—State of India from the increase of predatory power.—Patans and Pindharees.—Plan for improving the defensive military positions.—Failure of the negotiations with Bhopaul and Jeypoor.—Defensive alliance embraced by Appa Sahib, the regent at Nagpoor.—Appa Sahib falls into the views of the Poona court—murders Pursajee.—Progress of the Pindharees.—Plans of the Marquis of Hastings for the suppression of the predatory system—political and military arrangements.—Sindia is forced into the governor general's views.—Progress of the negotiations with the Rajpoots, Umeer Khan, the chiefs in Bundelcund, and the Nabob of Bhopaul.

In October 1813 the Marquis of Hastings, then Earl of Moira, assumed charges of the government of British India as successor to Lord Minto.

In addition to affairs immediately pressed upon his notice, the new governor general instituted inquiries into every department of the state, extending his interrogatories to the public character and services of individuals, by which he not only collected a mass of information, but awakened a lively attention in the minds of the officers throughout the vast army of British India, and inspired them, by this obvious desire to ascertain real merit, with the hope of honour and reward both for past and future exertions.

A.D. 1814.

The defective nature of the political arrangements concluded by the British authorities in 1805-06 and become very evident from the state

of anarchy existing in Malwa and Rajpootana; and the necessity of suppressing the spreading hordes of Patans and Pindharees was universally acknowledged. The numbers of these marauders had augmented to about 50,000 men, of whom about one-half were Pindharee horse. Both the one and the other were systematic plunderers; but the Patans were associated under Umeer Khan for the purpose of invading and plundering such states as they could overpower or intimidate, whilst the object of the Pindharees was universal rapine.

The Patans, therefore, required infantry and guns, and in this respect no native army in India was more efficient: their artillery was excellent; and they had some of the oldest of Holkar's battalions, as the foundation of their infantry, which was estimated at about 10,000 and their cavalry at 15,000 men. They were also distinguished from Pindharees by having a fixed rate of monthly pay, though it was seldom punctually received.

The plunderers, especially the Pindharees, were always gaining an accession of strength as the countries around them became exhausted; for not only did every lawless man, who could command a horse and a spear, join them, but the more peaceable part of the community were driven for subsistence into the same course of life; so that additional wants and accumulating strength tended of themselves to enlarge the sphere of Pindharee operations, without other less apparent sources of augmentation, derived from the secret

support and encouragement of various principal chiefs of the Mahratta empire.

Representations of the growth and formidable nature of this predatory power were early made to the Courts of Directors; but as the question seemed to involve a revision of their political relations with several of the native states, years had elapsed before any latitude was granted for departing from the defensive system of policy pursued since the settlement of 1805-06.

The authorities at home, however, regretting the manner in which some of the Rajpoot states had been thrown off, were desirous of repairing what was still in their power, by taking the raja of Jeypoor under British protection, and orders to that effect were received at Bengal in 1814; but as the measure was part of a plan which the Marquis of Hastings had in view for effecting a complete arrangement, he postponed attempting it until a more favourable season.

As a prelude to the great object contemplated it being supposed that Rughoojee Bhonslay, from his dread of the Pindharees, and from a sense of the gratuitous aid which had been more than once afforded when Nagpoor was threatened, might now be induced to enter on a defensive alliance with the British government, proposals to that effect were made to him; but a long negotiation through the resident, Mr. Jenkins, ended in a positive rejection of the terms.

The chief end of these overtures, in the present instance, was with view of connecting the chain of military posts between the frontier of

the British possessions in Bundelcund and the territory of their ally, the Nizam. The same object was attainable by taking Govind Rao Nana, the chief of Sagur, and Wuzeer Mohummud, nabob of Bhopaul, under British protection; but being by this time involved in hostility with the Goorkhas of Nepaul, Lord Hastings intended to postpone the offer of protection to the principalities in question, when he obtained information that a negotiation for a treaty, offensive and defensive, was in progress betwixt Sindia and Rughoojee Bhonslay, and also between Sindia and the ministers of Toolsee Bye Holkar:* he further learnt that Sindia, who had made great efforts against Bhopaul the preceding year, was determined to renew the siege; that in its exhausted state even the heroism of Wuzeer Mohummud† must prove unavailing; and finally, that this chief earnestly solicited to be taken under British protection.

From these circumstances, Lord Hastings determined on adopting the proposed measure, and directed certain terms to be offered, which comprehended the free ingress, egress, and residence of British troops within the nabob's territory, and the surrender from Bhopaul of a fort as a present depôt. To support the negotiations, the troops in Bundelcund were reinforced, the

* These negotiations, of which the governor general had obtained intelligence, were the prelude to the treaty of confederacy, of which the first article expressed the determination of these princes to serve and obey the Peishwa.

† See Sir John Malcolm's Central India for an interesting and animated account of the defence of Bhopaul.

Hyderabad subsidiary moved from Jaulna to Elichpoor, the Poona subsidiary from Seroor to Jaffeirabad, a large reserve was formed in the Deccan, and the army of Guzerat occupied a position at Soneepoor, on the right bank of the Myhie.

Wuzeer Mohummud appeared most ready to embrace the terms, and it was in consequence intimated to Sindia, by the resident in his camp, that the principality of Bhopaul was under British protection. Sindia protested most vehemently against the measure, declared the nabob to be his dependant, and, in defiance of the assembled armies, threatened an immediate attack upon him. His battalions advanced, and although under a certain assurance that an attack on Bhopaul would occasion an immediate rupture with the English, Sindia, for a time, seemed quite determined to risk the event; but his action fell short of his words, and ultimately his army was withdrawn. His conduct was to be accounted for in the unfavourable commencement and brilliant termination of the Nepaul war; but the first impressions throughout India respecting that warfare inspired hopes in all who wished the overthrow of the British power. Of that number, the Peishwa, from the time he was guided by the councils of Trimbukjee Dainglia, and especially after having instigated and participated in his crimes, may be considered the chief; it was, however, at one time supposed that the plan of the general confederacy already mentioned did not originate with the Mahrattas, but was suggested through Sindia by the Nepaulese.

A. D. 1815.

The Peishwa and Rughoojee Bhonslay assented, with seeming cordiality, to the proposed connection of the British government with Bhopaul; but no agreement ever took place with Wuzeer Mohummud. As long as he was threatened by Sindia, he not only appeared to accede to the terms, but gave out that he was under the protection of the British; but when the danger subsided, he objected to the surrender of a fort, and the negotiation terminated. The descendant, however, of the nabob of Bhopaul, who in 1779 dared, in defiance of Mahratta hostility, to befriend the English detachment under General Goddard, could be forgiven for an evasion, by which, if he refused protection, he also preserved independence. The failure of this arrangement prevented the prosecution of any plan of settlement with Govind Rao Nana at this period.

In the ensuing year, after the termination of the war in Nepaul, the raja of Jeypoor, being much pressed by Umeer Khan, applied for protection from the British government, which Lord Hastings, with a view to the general plan of settlement, was willing to afford; but the raja broke off the negotiation as soon as he had induced Umeer Khan to withdraw, and, like Wuzeer Mohummud, showed that necessity alone prompted his application.

A. D. 1816.

The nabob of Bhopaul, however, died on the 17th March 1816, and Rughoojee Bhonslay on the 22nd of the same month. Wuzeer Mohummud was succeeded as nabob of Bhopaul by his son Wuzeer Mohummud,

March 17—22.

and Rughoojee Bhonslay was succeeded by his only son Pursajee. But Pursajee, whose intellects were always weak, fell into a state of idiotism immediately afterwards; and his cousin Moodajee, usually styled Appa Sahib, the son of Venkajee Munnya Bappoo, who commanded at the battle of Argaom, was chosen regent, although not without considerable opposition. To secure an ascendancy, by no means fully established, Appa Sahib applied to the British resident to be admitted to the defensive alliance, before proposed to Rughoojee, which was promptly acceded to, and a treaty was signed 27th May 1816. A stipulated money payment,* calculated to defray the additional expense of field charges for one regiment of cavalry and 6,000 infantry, was to be paid by the Nagpoor government, and a contingent of 3,000 horse and 2,000 foot was to be maintained by the terms of the alliance. A subsidiary force was immediately formed, and until Appa Sahib was secured in the government, the whole continued in the neighbourhood of the capital, it being agreed that, when the troops were required in advance, or even on ordinary occasions, two battalions only should remain at Nagpoor. By the end of October 1816, Appa Sahib had completely established his authority, but being immediately assailed by the intrigues of the Peishwa, he very soon came into the views of the A. D. 1817. Poona court; being, however, apprehensive that if he threw off the support of the British government during the life-time

* Of seven and a half lakhs of rupees annually.

of Pursajee, a party might endanger his power, he one night caused Pursajee to be February 1. secretly strangled, and on the following morning it was announced and believed that he had been found dead in his bed.

In the meantime the aggressions of the Pindharees increased, nor could the British government defend its territory from their ravages, although large armies, at a vast expense, were annually called into the field. During the season of 1815-16, or from October till May inclusive of those years, the Pindharees pushed their depredations to a great extent, and were very successful in eluding the parties sent in pursuit of them. In the ensuing seasons they were less fortunate in their escapes: the British detachments, performing extraordinary marches, frequently came up with them, sometimes fell upon them accidentally, and cut off many of their parties. The Pindharees never fought, and seldom defended themselves against British troops; but these successes, though in many instances highly creditable to the zeal and perseverance of the army, were but a mere palliative to this growing and deep-seated evil. It was observable that for several years the territory of the Mahrattas was in general respected, and their ravages directed principally against that of the Nizam and the British government.

To prevent suspicion from this circumstance, the Peishwa sent a party of horse to plunder in his own country, who gave themselves out as Pindharees;* and Sindia professed the greatest

* The fact here recorded is stated on good authority, but it was not suspected or known till after the war; the party was sent

desire to suppress them; but his commanders openly countenanced them, and it was manifest that both Sindia and Holkar were not only unwilling but unable to restrain their dependants.

The subsidiary treaty with Nagpoor, and the acquisition of the Peishwa's rights by the treaty of 1817 over his remaining tributaries in Bundelcund, greatly improved the defensive means hitherto adopted by the British government; but the governor general, before receiving authority from England, had come to the resolution, as early as December 1816, of effectually suppressing the Pindharees; various reasons, however, induced him to defer carrying his plan into effect until the close of the ensuing rains; and in the meantime the Court of Directors had sanctioned offensive operations to the extent of driving the Pindharees from their haunts on the banks of the Nerbuddah and from Malwa.

The views of the Marquis of Hastings were more enlarged; he aimed at their complete suppression by eradicating the predatory system from Central India, so as to carry peace to those desolated provinces, and security to the rest of the country. Berar was supposed to be settled by the

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by Trimbukjee in the end of 1816, or very early in 1817, into the southern Concan, where they plundered and committed very great excesses. Having dispersed, they afterwards re-assembled in the neighbourhood of Nattapoota. They halted one night in Satara on their way down, of which place some of them, I believe, were natives, at all events they were afterwards well known there.

late subsidiary alliance; and the Peishwa, crippled by the treaty of Poona, might, it was hoped, see the necessity of refraining from hostilities, secret or avowed, if he wished to retain the territory still left to him. The plan, therefore, of the governor general embraced principally the possessions of Sindia, Holkar, the Rajpoots, the nabob of Bhopaul, and the principalities of Bundelcund. The former treaties with Sindia and Holkar became virtually annulled from the period when their dependants began to ravage the territory of the British government. Many proofs of secret hostilities, particularly on the part of Sindia, had come to the knowledge of the governor general, besides the treaty of confederacy by which all the Mahrattas engaged to serve and obey the Peishwa; he therefore determined on submitting a plan of a treaty of concert and alliance to those two states,—to declare the treaties of 1805 annulled, so that he might be at liberty to admit the claims of every state, tributary or otherwise, that had any pretentions to independence; and to guarantee rights and possessions in all instances where the state or principality agreed to make common cause against the predatory system; but he resolved to admit of no neutrality. He adopted as a principle not to disturb occupancy, but to treat with the existing government or chiefs who might be in possession of the country at the time. Thus Umeer Khan, though an undeserving instance of the operation of this general benefit, if he agreed to the proposals, and dismissed his Patans, was to be

guaranteed in the jagheer which he held from Holkar. On these principles, and to the above effect, as soon as the military preparations were in sufficient progress, others were despatched to the various political agents.

The military plan was equally simple and comprehensive. Armies were to be assembled around the territories described, to close in by simultaneous movements to a common centre, so as to hem in the Pindharees and their abettors at all points; taking care to provide efficient means for resisting or following up any bodies of the enemy who might pass through the advancing divisions. For this purpose five divisions were prepared in the Deccan, and placed under the orders of Sir Thomas Hislop, commander-in-chief of the Madras army. One division was held ready in Guzerat, and four divions, with two in reserve, were to co-operate from Bengal under the personal command of the Marquis of Hastings, who took the field that he might be on the scene of operations, and superintend the execution of his arrangements. Sir John Malcolm was appointed political agent of the govenor general with the army of the Deccan, and had also command of one of the divisions destined for active operations in the field. The preparations in the south, as the troops had so far to march, were necessarily public, but those to the northward of Bundelcund were managed with secrecy, so as not to give the alarm to Sindia, until he should find himself compelled to submit to the intended propositions, or obliged to commence war under great disadvantage.

The forces of the Deccan, including a sixth or reserve division formed at Adonee under Brigadier-General Pritzler the Guzerat division under Brigadier-General Grant Keir, and the troops left for the protection of Poona, Hyderabad, and Nagpoor, amounted to upwards of 57,000 regulars, of which number 5,255 were cavalry. The army which took the field in Bengal consisted of about 34,000 regulars, of which the cavalry amounted to nearly 5,000. Besides these, there were 13,000 irregular horse on the strength of the Deccan army, and nearly 10,000 with the army of Bengal, many of them good troops.

The 1st division of the army of the Deccan under the command of Sir Thomas Hislop, preceded by the 3rd division under Sir John Malcolm, was destined to advance into Malwa, and cross the Nerbuddah at Hindia. The 5th division, consisting of the Nagpoor subsidiary force under Colonel Adams, was to advance by Hooshingabad. The 2nd division under Brigadier-General Doveton and the 4th division under Brigadier-General Smith, were to occupy positions, the former in Berar, and the latter in Candeish, and to act according to circumstances. The army of Guzerat was to advance by Dohud into Malwa.

The four principal Bengal divisions were to be assembled at Rewaree, Agra, Sikundra near Kalpee, and at Kalinjer, in Bundelcund. The two divisions in reserve were intended as detachments of observation; the one was stationed under Brigadier-General Toone on the upper Saone, the other under Brigadier-General Hardyman in Rewah, on the upper Nerbuddah. The division

from Bundelcund, under the command of General Marshall, was to advance with the Deccan army against the Pindharees. The division from Reweree, the most nothern point, was under the command of Major-General Ochterlony, and was intended to expedite the arrangements with the Rajpoots, and to co-operate in overaweing the Patans or attacking the Pindharees. The main body, to be assembled at Sikundra, was under the personal command of the Marquis of Hastings, and was prepared with considerable celerity and secrecy by the middle of October. It was destined to cross the Jumna by a bridge of boats a little above Kalpee to march due west, and to occupy, in the first instance, a position south of Gwalior, whilst the division from Agra, under Major-General Donkin, took up its station at Dholpoor immediately to the northward. This judicious manœuvre, which gave the command of Sindia's camp with the best part of his artillery, was executed with great success; it disarmed one important member of a hostile confederacy formed against the British government, and compelled Sindia to sign a treaty, which, however unpalatable at the moment, was really ensuring his safety.

In September it was intimated to Sindia through Captain Close, the resident in his camp, that the army of the Deccan was about to advance for the extirpation of the Pindharees, and, as matter of form, passports were requested for the free ingress and egress of the British troops through his territory. At this period Sindia's army at Gwalior was more than usually turbulent—a

circumstance principally attributable to a strong excitement caused by reports of the Peishwa's determination to break with the English, and a general hope that their master was about to join him. Sindia, in reply to the application for passports, stated that he had not given up his intention of punishing the Pindharees, and requested that the troops might be stopped; but this being declared impossible after what had happened in the last two years, the passports were granted. Before the middle of October the views of the governor general were completely unfolded to Sindia by a paper prepared and sent from the camp at Sikundra. It contained remonstrances on his evasive conduct for having harboured freebooters, who had plundered the British territory at the very time when he was pledging himself to punish their depredations, and it combated the plea he had advanced of inability to suppress them; if, however, that plea were admitted as personal exoneration, it constituted a virtual dissolution of the treaty, and more especially annulled those stipulations in regard to his dependants in Rajpootana; because, if unable to restrain such dependants, when they committed aggressions on the British government, the treaties which bound that government to regard them as the subjects of Sindia could no longer be considered in force. The paper in question further declared that the British government had no other view than the effectual extinction of all predatory associations, and Captain Close was authorised to communicate the mode in which

Sindia's aid was solicited for that purpose. He was required to place his troops at the disposal of the British government, to be stationary or employed at its option, with a British officer superintending each of the principal divisions; and any of Sindia's officers supporting or harbouring freebooters were to be dealt with as rebels. A contingent of 5,000 horse, to be employed under the direction of British officers against the Pindharees, and funds allotted for its expenses for three years, from the pension payable by the British government and the tribute demandable from Boondee and Joudpoor. The lands recovered from the Pindharees belonging to Sindia to be restored to him, and to the rightful owners, in all cases where they co-operated for their suppression; where they did not, the whole to be given up to Sindia. As a security for the fulfilment of the proposed, terms, the forts of Hindia and Asseergurh were demanded, but Sindia's flag was to be allowed to fly, and a few of his troops permitted to remain in each of them. The tribute due to Sindia by the Rajpoot principalities was not to be affected by any agreements which the British government might make with them; on the contrary, its due receipt was to be guaranteed to him. A treaty to this effect was signed by Sindia on the 5th November, and ratified by the governor general on the following day. Hindia was given up according to the terms of the treaty; but Jeswunt Rao Lar, the killidar of Asseergurh, refused to obey the order of surrender. The three principal divisions of Sindia's army were thus stationed;

the first at Ajmere under Bappoojee Sindia, the same person who treacherously deserted on Monson's retreat; the second at Jawud under Jeswunt Rao Bhow; and the third at Bhadurgurh under Colonel Jean Baptiste. The British officers chosen to superintend those divisions were, in their respective order, Major Ludlow, Captain Caulfield, and Major Bunce.

Soon after Sindia had signed the treaty, General Donkin's division proceeded to the westward for the purpose of co-operating in the general plan, but the Marquis of Hastings continued to move about to the southward of Gwalior, to observe the motions of Sindia, who, though compelled to accept the terms imposed, was watching the progress of events in the Deccan, intriguing with the Peishwa, and endeavouring to stir up the Goorkhas of Nepaul to make common cause with the Mahrattas.

In the meantime the political agents of the British government were actively engaged in negotiations with the petty states. The raja of Kerowlee, a dependant of the Peishwa, to whom the raja had paid a small tribute of 25,000 rupees a year, was the first to accept the proffered protection. He acknowledged the supremacy of the British government, was guaranteed in his possessions, and in his particular case the tribute was remitted. He agreed to furnish troops to the extent of his means. This agreement was signed on the 9th November, and on the same day Umeer Khan's agent at Delhi accepted the terms offered for his master. His jagheer was guaranteed and

taken under British protection, on condition of disbanding his followers, except a small number for the internal management of his jagheer, which were to attend on the requisition of the British government; he was also to relinquish all connection with freebooters, and to give up his artillery for an equitable pecuniary compensation. After the conclusion of the treaty with Sindia, Captain Tod, assistant to the resident in Sindia's camp, was sent on a political mission to the Rajpoot states. The raj-rana, Zalim Sing of Kotah, who governed the principality in the name of his imprisoned sovereign, with all the prudence and vigour of the ablest of the Mahratta Peishwas, immediately acceded to the terms proposed, blocked up the passes in his country, and furnished a contingent to act with the British troops. A treaty was afterwards concluded with him on the 26th December.

In Bundelcund, Givind Rao Nana had signed a treaty on the 1st November, by which his tribute and military service, transferred from the Peishwa to the British government by the treaty of Poona, was commuted for the cession of a part of the district of Mahabuk, which lay within the British frontier in Bundelcund. Winaek Rao, the chief who had possession of Sagur, refused the proffered terms. The raja of Simpthur and the soobehdar of Jhansee readily accepted the terms of protection and guarantee; and the nabob of Bhopaul not only accepted them, but entered most heartily into the cause. The political arrangements in Bundelcund were conducted by Mr. Wauchope;

those already mentioned as concluded with the rajas of Kerowlee and Kotah, and Umeer Khan were framed by Mr. Metcalfe, the resident at Delhi; but that of Umeer Khan, though signed by his agent on the 9th November, was not ratified by himself for some time, as the crafty Patan was then engaged in other negotiations with the Peishwa's agent in his camp, and, like Sindia, was watching the important events which were passing at Poona and Nagpoor.*

* In addition to the authorities quoted for the preceding chapter, I have to acknowledge my obligations to Mr. Prinsep's narrative.

CHAPTER XVIII.

A.D. 1817 AND A.D. 1818.

The Peishwa proceeds to Punderpoor—pretended reduction of his military establishment.—Poona auxiliary force.—Sir John Malcolm, political agent of the governor general, arrives at Poona—interview with the Peishwa at Maholy—is deceived by Bajee Rao—system recommended in consequence.—Advance of the divisions of the Deccan army.—Peishwa's proceedings at Maholy—invests Bappoo Gokla with full powers—plan for corrupting the troops—fidelity of the sepoys—murder of the resident prevented by Gokla.—Festival of the Dussera—alarming appearances at Poona—Peishwa hesitates—arrival of the European regiment.—British troops take up a new position—are suddenly attacked by the Peishwa's army—battle of Khirkee—residency plundered and burnt—violent proceedings of the Peishwa—remonstrances.—Interview between the resident's moonshee and Gokla.—General Smith returns to Poona—flight of the Peishwa.—Poona is occupied—pursuit of the Peishwa—defence of Korygaom.—The Peishwa continues his flight—pursuit taken up by General Pritzler—resumed by General Smith.—Mr. Elphinstone is appointed commissioner, and two divisions of the army of the Deccan placed at his disposal.—Capture of Satara.—The Satara proclamation—new distribution of the force.—General Smith surprises the Peishwa's army at Ashtah—death of Gokla—rescue of the raja of Satara.—Affairs of Nagpoor—treacherous attack on the British troops—Battle of Seetabuldee—arrival of General Doveton.—Appa Sahib surrenders himself—his guns are stormed and taken—attack on Nagpoor repulsed—Arabs capitulate—operations of General Hardyman, and reduction of the northern districts.—Appa Sahib is reinstated.—Revert to affairs in Malwa and Hindostan.

In the month of July, as soon as the arrangements resulting from the treaty of Poona were put in a train of adjustment, the Peishwa left his capital, and proceeded on his annual pilgrimage to the temples of Punderpoor, unaccompanied by the resident, which promised to have a good effect in marking the restoration of confidence on the part of the British government. He immediately reduced his military establishment, chiefly his cavalry; but it was subsequently discovered that he had given every sillidar seven months' pay, with orders to remain at his village, and to hold himself in readiness to return when called upon, with as many of his friends as he could collect.

A.D. 1817.

The regular battalions raised by the Peishwa were transferred as part of the contingent, which was placed under the direction of the British government, and now termed the Poona auxiliary force; but at Bajee Rao's particular request, that he might be able to confer the command on Captain Ford, one of the battalions was to be retained in his own pay, and in lieu of it a new corps was to be recruited. Every exertion was made to raise the stipulated number of horse; but the Peishwa's emissaries opposed the recruiting by every means they could devise. From Punderpoor, the Peishwa, instead of returning to Poona, proceeded to Maholy, village near Satara, and a sacred place at the junction of the Yena and Kistna. During his stay there, Sir John Malcolm arrived at Poona, having, on his appointment as political agent to the governor general, with

his usual great activity, visited all the native courts in the Deccan, for the purpose of consulting with the residents previously to entering on the scense of operations in the Malwa; and the Peishwa, on hearing of his arrival, invited him to a conference at Maholy.

In the course of conversation, the Peishwa complained much of the degraded state in which he was left by the late treaty, lamented the loss of that friendship which had hitherto been only productive of benefit, but enlarged on the gratitude which he left, and must ever feel, for the protection and support he had experienced from the British government. Sir John Malcolm endeavoured to soothe him, explained in a general manner the plans of the Marquis of Hastings for the suppression of the Pindharees, and strongly recommended him to adopt a line of policy calculated to assure the British government of his sincere desire to promote the alliance, and secure its friendship: that the restoration of what was already forfeited he must not expect, but, by pursuing the course now recommended, and aiding the operations with his utmost means, he might rely on the justice and liberality of the governor general for obtaining considerable acquisitions as a recompense for the fidelity of which he boasted, and which he might now display. The Peishwa's professions were most cordial, and communicated, as usual, with so great an appearance of candour and good sense, that Sir John Malcolm was completely deceived, and returned to Poona in the full conviction that Bajee Rao would no heartily

engage in the British cause, and that, by encouraging him to raise troops, and treating him with perfect confidence, he would prove a faithful ally. Mr. Elphinstone, though he expressed his opinions would not oppose the liberal system recommended by Sir John Malcolm; but he contemplated and foretold a different result, especially on considering the tempting opportunity which would be afforded by the advance of General Smith's division to the frontier, and the exposed state of the handful of troops at Poona.

The forts of Singurh, Raigurh, and Poorundhur were restored to the Peishwa during the month of August. The excessive heavy rains of this season, prolonged to an unusually late date, delayed the advance of the whole Deccan army. Brigadier-General Smith had transported his division across the Ghore by the 9th October, and by the 20th occupied convenient position close to the Chandore range of hills, with a view of advancing into Candeish, as soon as it should appear requisite. A battalion of light infantry, with some auxiliary horse, were left between Seroor and Ahmednugur; one auxiliary battalion was stationed for the protection of the Seroor cantonment, and the Peishwa's own corps, consisting of from 400 to 500 men, remained at Dhapooree, in its first cantonment, a few miles to the north-west of Poona. The company's European regiment from Bombay was to be held in readiness to join the brigade at Poona about the end of October.

The Peishwa did not return to his capital until the end of September. During his stay at

Maholy he was most actively engaged in those schemes he had long meditated against the British government; but, by the advice of Bappoo Gokla, he had determined on changing his plans of covert hostility to an open attack, as soon as he should be prepared. The recommendation of Sir John Malcolm to recruit his army, for the purpose of aiding in the Pindharee war, afforded an excellent cloak to his designs. Gokla was now the leader of all his measures, and Bajee Rao was induced to give him a formal writing under his own seal, which he confirmed on oath, binding himself to be implicitly directed by his counsel, and investing him with the full powers of his government. This measure seems to have been adopted not merely as a security to Gokla, but as a means of allaying the mistrust which the sillidars entertained towards Bajee Rao, and was the condition on which several of the jagheerdars pledged themselves to stand by him. This circumstance, though reported in the country, was not fully ascertained until after the commencement of hostilities. Bappoo Gokla received ten millions of rupees—nearly a million sterling—to assist in the expense of preparation. From the time of his first determination to break with the English, Bajee Rao restored the lands of many of his jagheerdars, and for several years had been endeavouring to render himself more popular with all classes of his subjects. He unfolded his intention of going to war with the English to the raja of Satara; and, whilst he exacted from him and his mother an oath of secrecy and support, he sent them and all their family into strict confinement

in Wassota. His recruiting went forward with remarkable activity; his forts also were garrisoned, stored, and repaired; and orders were issued to prepare his fleet. Many Bheels and Ramoosees were engaged in his interest by Trimbukjee Dainglia; and especial missions were despatched to Nagpoor and the camps of Sindia, Holkar, and Umeer Khan; but the schemes which he personally directed were the seduction of the native troops and the assassination of the resident. His plan of corrupting the troops extended even to the European officers; and the agent employed for the latter purpose was Jeswunt Rao Ghorepuray, who for many years had resided at Poona, was intimately acquainted with many of the officers, and, since the treaty of Surjee Angengaom, had received a pension of 1,000 rupees a month from the British government.* Jeswunt Rao had experienced much kindness from Mr. Elphinstone; but at this period, in consequence of some petty intrigues in which he had made an improper use of his name, the resident was obliged to treat him with unusual reserve. Bajee Rao, therefore,

* It may be here mentioned that Jeswunt Rao Ghorepuray had a just claim to the fort and valley of Sondoor, held by his brother Khundee Rao Ghorepuray, but which Jeswunt Rao had made over to the Peishwa in exchange for other villages. The British government approved of the transaction, and promised, at the time the transfer was made, to put the Peishwa in possession of Sondoor, but various causes prevented the fulfilment of this promise until the end of October of this year, when Sondoor surrendered to a part of the reserve under Colonel Thomas Munro, detached from the force of Brigadier-General Pritzler for the express purpose.

judging the opportunity favourable, sent for Jeswunt Rao, and after many promises; exacted an oath of secrecy, and communicated the plan for corrupting the European officers—a commission which Jeswunt Rao, although he well knew its futility, like a true Mahratta readily undertook, upon receiving an advance of 50,000 rupees. So far he kept his oath as to say nothing of these circumstances;* but Jeswunt Rao had a great personal regard for Mr. Elphinstone, and, throughout the rise and progress of the Peishwa's preparations, gave early and constant warning of what might be expected. Jeswunt Rao Gorepuray was the only man of family who at the rupture openly espoused the British cause; but, of all its adherents, none was of so much importance, or rendered himself so eminently useful, as a Bramin named Ballajee Punt Nathoo,† whose vigilance,

* Independently of its having been found in the Peishwa's accounts, I became acquainted with the circumstances from an individual then high in Bajee Rao's confidence, whose name it would be improper to publish.

† At my particular request, he wrote a very correct and voluminous history of his own times, in which he quotes his authorities. It was translated for me by my friend Mr. William Richard Morris, of the Bombay civil service, whose valuable assistance I have already acknowledged; but the original MSS. is in possession of its author, who, for various prudential reasons, was desirous of retaining it. Ballajee Punt Nathoo was the carcoon of the ill-requitted Khundee Rao Rastia, who at his death appointed him guardian to his children. He endeavoured to interest Colonel Close in their behalf, was in the habit of coming much to the residency, and at last attached himself to Mr. Elphinstone, openly embraced the British cause, and proved himself well entitled to the munificent reward which was conferred upon him before Mr. Elphinstone assumed the government of Bombay.

judgment, fidelity, and firmness at that trying period entitle him to be mentioned in this place.

The reports of corrupting the troops were brought from all quarters; some of the sepoys indignantly refused what to them were splendid offers; and others, pretending to acquiesce, communicated the circumstances to their officers; but the extent of the intrigues could not be ascertained, and they at last became alarming, even to those who knew the fidelity of the Bombay sepoys, from the circumstance of the Peishwa's having many of their families and relations in his power, against whom he commenced a system of persecution, which he threatened to perpetuate if the sepoys refused to desert the British service.

It was the Peishwa's wish, previous to the commencement of hostilities, to invite Mr. Elphinstone to a conference, and murder him; but this plan was opposed by Gokla, who, though he concurred in that of corrupting the sepoys, and was most sanguine in his belief of his complete success, disdained to perpetrate so base a crime, especially as Mr. Elphinstone had more than once proved himself his friend. But Bajee Rao was unwilling to relinquish a favourite scheme of personal revenge, and proposed to assassinate the resident as he rode out; or should that fail, to get Trimbukjee, with a body of Bheels, to endeavour to surprise the residency by night, whilst a simultaneous attack should be made on the cantonment.

The last interview which took place between Mr. Elphinstone and the Peishwa was on the 14th

of October, when, although the latter adverted to the loss of territory and reputation he had suffered by the late treaty, he continued to express grateful acknowledgments for the former friendship of the British government. On Mr. Elphinstone's mentioning how anxiously the advance of the troops was desired, Bajee Rao repeated the assurances which he had of late frequently made through his ministers, that his troops should be sent to the frontier to co-operate against the Pindharees immediately after the Dussera.

October 14.

The festival of the Dussera took place on the 19th October, and was the most splendid military spectacle ever witnessed since the accession of Bajee Rao. Two circumstances were particularly observable on this occasion; a marked degree of slight towards the resident, and at the moment of the Peishwa's quitting the ground, a large compact mass of horse, under an officer named Naroo Punt Aptey, gallopped down, as if they had intended to charge the flank of the British troops, but wheeled off as they came close up. The intention of this manœuvre was to show sepoys their insignificance when compared to this host of Mahratta spears, and might be supposed to have its effect in aiding the Peishwa's intrigues. It would have been difficult to convince the Mahrattas, in that vaunting moment, that of the three weak battalions then peaceably and unsuspectingly standing before them, one should, in less than three months, repulse their whole army.

October 19.

After the Dussera every day became more interesting, and by the 25th parties of troops were coming into Poona from all quarters, by day and by night. General Smith's force was now at a distance, and the European regiment from Bombay could hardly be expected in less than ten days. The position occupied by the brigade almost joined the northern environs of Poona; it had been originally taken up by Sir Arthur Wellesley for the protection of the city, but circumstances were now reversed. Gardens and enclosures, with high prickly-pear hedges, ran in many places within half musket-shot of the lines, affording not only every advantage for the attack of the Arabs and irregulars, but, in case of disaffection amongst the sepoys, every facility to desert. Small parties of horse came out, and encamped round the British cantonment, and in a few days were augmented to large bodies, whilst a strong corps of Gosaeen infantry occupied a position on one of the flanks. The Sungum being at some distance from the cantonment, the Vinchorkur's horse, with some infantry and guns, encamped between the residency and the village of Bambooree: but besides these preparations, all reports concurred in representing that an immediate attack was meditated.

October 25.

For several nights the Peishwa and his advisers had deliberated on the advantage of surprising the troops before the arrival of the European regiment; and for this purpose, on the 28th October, their guns were yoked, their horses saddled, and their infantry in readiness. This intelligence was brought to Mr. Elphinstone a

little before midnight of the 28th, and for a moment it became a question whether self-defence, under all circumstances, did not require that the attack should be anticipated. It was an hour of anxiety: the British cantonment and the residency were perfectly still, and the inhabitants slept in the complete repose inspired by confidence in that profound peace to which they had been long accustomed; but in the Peishwa's camp south of the town, all was noise and uproar. Mr. Elphinstone had as yet betrayed no suspicion of the Peishwa's treachery, and, as he now stood listening on the terrace,* he probably thought that, in thus exposing the troops to be cut off without even the satisfaction of dying with their arms in their hands, he had followed the system of confidence, so strongly recommended, to a culpable extremity: but other motives influenced his conduct at this important moment. He was aware how little faith the other Mahratta princes placed in Bajee Rao, and that Sindia, who knew him well, would hesitate to engage in hostilities until the Peishwa had fairly committed himself. Apprized of the governor general's secret plans, and his intended movements on Gwalior, which many circumstances might have concurred to postpone, Mr. Elphinstone had studiously avoided every appearance which might affect the negotiations

* As I was the only person with Mr. Elphinstone during that night, though I here narrate simply what I saw and heard, some apology to him may be necessary for publishing without his sanction what relates to him personally, but I trust that the occasion is sufficiently interesting to the public, and honorable to him, to authorize my having done so.

in Hindostan, or, by any preparation and apparent alarm on his part, give Sindia's secret emissaries at Poona reason to believe that war was inevitable. To have sent to the cantonment at that hour would have occasioned considerable stir; and in the meantime, by the reports of the spies, the Peishwa was evidently deliberating; the din in the city was dying away; the night was passing; and the motives which had hitherto prevented preparation, determined Mr. Elphinstone to defer it some hours longer. Major J. A. Wilson, the officer in command of the European regiment on its march from Bombay, had already been made acquainted with the critical state of affairs, and was hastening forward.

Next morning, however, the officer in command of the brigade at Poona was requested to keep the men ready in their lines, but with as little appearance of bustle as possible. At three o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. Elphinstone sent a message to the Peishwa, mentioning that his highness's horsemen were crowding in upon the position of the brigade; that such a mode of encamping had never been practised or permitted by British troops, and therefore the commanding officer confined his men to their cantonment until those of his highness should be withdrawn, lest, by their contiguity, disputes might arise between them. This message was delivered by Captain Ford, and created a great sensation. Gokla recommended that the attack should not be delayed, the Peishwa hesitated, stating that he wished a little more time to make sure of corrupting the

October 29.

sepoys; the European regiment was still, as he believed, at a great distance, and every hour was adding to his army; another night was thus wasted in consultation, and at four o'clock of the following afternoon, the European regiment by great exertions marched into the cantonment. Mr. Elphinstone now determined on removing the troops from their present very bad position to another in many respects more eligible, at the village of Khirkee, four miles distant, which had been early pointed out by General Smith as the proper one to be occupied in case of an apprehended rupture. The troops accordingly took up their ground at Khirkee on the 1st November, and the residency being close to the town, 250 men were sent for its protection. The Peishwa was apprized of the intended movement; but his army supposed that the British troops had withdrawn from fear, and was much encouraged in consequence. The cantonment was plundered; an officer,* on his route to Bombay, was attacked, wounded, and robbed in open day; the language of the Peishwa's ministers was that of perfect slight; his troops everywhere began to insult individuals as they passed; and they continued to push forward their parties as if in defiance. They proposed forming a camp betwixt the old cantonment and the new position, and a party of horse moved down for the purpose. A second message was therefore sent to the Peishwa,

October 30.

November 1.

* Lieutenant Shaw. Veesram Sing, a horseman of Bajee Rao's personal retinue, was the individual who speared him.

begging that the motives of the movement might not be misconstrued; for, if the British troops were pressed upon as in the old position, those of his highness must be treated as enemies. The Peishwa now believed, from the reports of his emissaries, that the sepoys were

November 4.

completely seduced.* On the 4th November, Moro Dixit, the minister who had formed an attachment to Major Ford, and was anxious to save him, communicated this circumstance, and that his master was determined to cut off the British detachment without sparing a man.† He advised him to stand neuter, when his property should be spared and his family protected; but on Captain Ford's telling him he would immediately join his countrymen, he took an affectionate leave of him, promising, at all events, that he would do his best to befriend his family; but as there was, he observed, no saying what turn the war might

* Many of the sepoys behaved with admirable fidelity; one native officer, Jemadar Shaik Hoossein, of the 2nd battalion, 6th regiment, on being tampered with, encouraged the overtures, by the advice of his adjutant, Lieutenant Robert Billamore, who was instructed on the subject. The Peishwa sent for the jemadar, made him great promises, and desired a carcoon to give him 10,000 rupees, but the latter gave the jemadar one-half, and kept the other himself. The jemadar brought the money to his officer in a bag of rice, just before hostilities commenced.

† Dr. Coats and Captain Ford, the latter only if he stood neutral, were to be the sole exceptions. Dr. Coats had attended the Peishwa in an illness, had gratuitously performed many cures amongst the people of the country, and had spread vaccination for many miles around; the anecdote proves that Bajee Rao was not wholly devoid of gratitude.

ultimately take, he exacted a like promise from Captain Ford, which was readily granted. Until this communication was made, Captain Ford, though in daily intercourse with the city, and made acquainted with the circumstances by Mr. Elphinstone, was perfectly confident that the Peishwa had no intention of going to war, and his astonishment and alarm were proportionally great. The Peishwa's reason for still wishing to procrastinate was the expected arrival of the Putwurdhuns and Appa Dessaye Nepankur; matters, however, were brought to a crisis before they could join his army. General Smith, who continued in the position already described, on hearing what had taken place, was prepared to expect a rupture; and therefore, without waiting for orders from Sir Thomas Hislop, concentrated his force at Phooltamba, on the Godavery, and ordered the light battalion to fall back to Seroor; it was also settled between him and the resident that, in case the communication were interrupted, the general might conclude that the troops at Poona were attacked. On the 3rd November Mr. Elphinstone directed the light battalion and a party of auxiliary horse, stationed at Seroor, to move to Poona. As soon as the news of these arrangements reached the Peishwa, he determined to delay the attack no longer. His preparations began about seven o'clock on the morning of the 5th; but in the early part of the day he sent out several messages calculated to lull the resident's suspicions; such as, that his troops were alarmed by hearing that

November. 3.

November 5.

those at Khirkee were under arms; that he was about to perform a religious ceremony at the temple of Parbuttee, and that the troops were drawn out, in honor of the occasion, to form a street as he passed. In the afternoon, when all was in readiness, the whole of his principal officers having assembled at his palace, Wittoojee Gaekwar, a personal servant of the Peishwa, was despatched to Mr. Elphinstone, by Gokla's advice, to inform him that the assembly of troops at Poona was very offensive to the Peishwa; to desire him to send away the European regiment, to reduce the native brigade to its usual strength, when it must occupy a position which the Peishwa would point out, and that if these demands were not complied with, he could withdraw from Poona and never return. Mr. Elphinstone denied the Peishwa's right to require the removal of the European regiment, explained the reason of his having called in the light battalion, and recommended that the Peishwa should send his troops to the frontier as he had promised, in which case all cause of complaint would be removed: there was a good deal more passed, as the conversation on the part of the messenger was intended to engage as much attention as possible; but he at last withdrew, warning the resident of the bad consequences of his refusal. In the meantime the Peishwa's officers at the palace were despatched to their troops; Bajee Rao in person proceeded to the Parbuttee;* and Wittoojee Gaekwar had

* Situated on a hill on the south side of Poona, and already mentioned.

scarcely quitted the residency when intelligence was brought that the army was moving out on the west side of the city. There was a momentary consultation about defending the residency, but it was instantly abandoned as impracticable, and it was determined to retire to Khirkee, for which purpose the nature of the ground afforded great facility. The river Moola betwixt the Sungum and the village of Khirkee forms two curves like the letter S inverted. The residency and the village were both on the same side of the river, but at the former there was a ford, and near the latter a bridge; so that the party, by crossing at the ford, had the river between them and the Peishwa's troops the greater part of the way. From the residency no part of the Mahratta army was visible excepting bodies of infantry, which were assembling along the tops of the adjoining heights, with the intention of cutting off the residency from the camp, and, having this object in view, they did not molest individuals. On ascending one of the eminences on which they were forming, the plain beneath presented at that moment a most imposing spectacle. This plain, then covered with grain, terminates on the west by a range of small hills, while on the east it is bounded by the city of Poona, and the small hills already partially occupied by the infantry. A mass of cavalry covered nearly the whole extent of it, and towards the city endless streams of horsemen were pouring from every avenue.*

* Those only who have witnessed the Bore in the Gulf of Cambay, and have seen in perfection the approach of that roaring

Mr. Elphinstone had personally reconnoitred the ground in front of the village of Khirkee and ascertained that there was a ford between that village and Dhapooree, which, although difficult, was practicable for six-pounder, three of which, manned by native artillerymen, belonged to the auxiliary force, and was attached to Captain Ford's corps. It had been arranged, in case of an attack, that Captain Ford was to join the brigade under Lieutenant-Colonel Burr; and Mr. Elphinstone had been at pains to explain to all concerned the advantage of always acting on the offensive against Mahrattas. When the party was fording at the residency, a messenger was despatched to warn the troops of the approach of the enemy. Lieutenant-Colonel Burr, the officer in command, wished to have acted on the defensive; but as the message required him to move down and attack the Peishwa's army, he immediately sent the battalion companies of the 2nd battalion, 6th regiment, to protect the stores, ammunition, and followers in the village of Khirkee, left his camp standing, and instantly marched down by the

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tide, can form the exact idea presented to the author at sight of the Peishwa's army. It was towards the afternoon of a very sultry day; there was a dead calm, and no sound was heard except the rushing, the trampling and neighing of the horses, and the rumbling of the gun-wheels. The effect was heightened by seeing the peaceful peasantry flying from their work in the fields, the bullocks breaking from their yokes, the wild antelopes startled from sleep, bounding off, and then turning for a moment to gaze on this tremendous inundation, which swept all before it levelled the hedges and standing corn, and completely overwhelmed every ordinary barrier as it moved.

firmness in this moment of peril. He was the first to perceive the moving mass: he had just time to stop the pursuit of De Pento's battalion, already routed, and to call to the men, who could not be dressed in line, to reserve their fire, and prove themselves worthy of all his care. Fortunately there was a deep slough, of which neither party were aware, immediately in front of the British left. The foremost of the horses rolled over, and many, before they could be pulled up, tumbled over those in front; the fire, hitherto reserved, was now given with great effect, number fell, the confusion became extreme, and the force of the charge was completely checked: a very small proportion came in contact with the bayonets, a few continued the attack in the rear, but many turned back; some gallopped round the left as if to plunder the camp, but they were driven off by a few shots from two iron guns at Khirkee, and the sepoys had nearly repulsed the attack before a company of Europeans could arrive to their support. This failure completely disconcerted the Mahrattas; they began to drive off their guns; their infantry retired from the distant position they occupied, and upon the advance of the British line the whole field was cleared. The brigade returned to its position at Khirkee after night-fall, and the light battalion and auxiliary horse joined it next morning. The report of their

foremost in the post of honor. On this occasion, two of his attendants were short by his side, his horse's head was grazed by a ball, and another went through his hat.

arrival, and the effect of the forward movement, deterred Gokla from renewing the attack. The Mahrattas in Captain Ford's battalion deserted, and a part of the newly-raised auxiliary horse were, at their own desire, permitted to quit the British camp; but not one sepoy of the regular service left his colours. The number of the British troops engaged at the affair of Khirkee, including Captain Ford's battalion, was 2,800 rank and file, of whom about 800 were Europeans. Their loss was comparatively trifling, amounting only to 86 men in killed and wounded, 50 of whom were of the sepoys on the left. The Mahratta army consisted of 18,000 horse and 8,000 foot with 14 guns.* They suffered considerably, having lost 500 men in killed and wounded; and though the proportion of horses killed on the spot was inconsiderable, a very great number were disabled. Amongst the sufferers was the minister Moro Dixit, who, by rather a strange fatality, was mortally wounded by a grape shot from one of the guns attached to the battalion of his friend Captain Ford.

Hostilities were no sooner commenced than the ferocious and vindictive character of Bajee Rao's previous orders became apparent from the proceedings in every direction, probably before he had time to stop them The residency was plundered and burnt, and of the resident's library

* This number is given from the actual returns, and does not include 5,000 horse and 2,000 foot stationed with the Peishwa at Parbuttee, so that Bajee Rao had already collected 33,000 men at Poona.

and private apartment not one stone was left upon another; the families and followers of the troops who fell into the hands of the Mahrattas were robbed, beaten, and frequently mutilated; the gardens were destroyed, the trees were torn from the roots, and the graves were dug up. An engineer officer on survey was attacked and killed; two brother, of the name of Vaughan, one of them a captain in the Madras army, were taken while travelling between Bombay and Poona, near the village of Tullygaom, and though they made no resistance, were most barbarously hanged under the superintendence of a Bramin, named Babjee Punt Gokla.* These atrocities, excepting the plunder of the adherents and servants of the British government, were not perpetrated under Bappoo Gokla's sanction; but as he had been intrusted with the entire powers of the state, Mr. Elphinstone took the first opportunity of intimating to him that any individual, however exalted his rank, who might order the death of a British prisoner, should answer for it in his own person.

Two officers, Cornets Hunter and Morrison, of the Madras establishment, on the route from Hyderabad to Poona with a small escort, were attacked when they approached the latter place, and after a manful resistance, being compelled to surrender, they were confined in a hill-fort; some small parties who stood on the defensive in various

* This person is now a prisoner, in a wooden cage, in the fort of Singurh. Bajee Rao disavowed the murder of the Vaughans, but acknowledged that the residency was destroyed by his orders.

situations, and surrendered on terms, were permitted to join the British camp. Amongst this number was the resident's moonshee, who, having a party of Arabs in his pay, defended his house in the city for several days, until Gokla interposed, and sent for him. During their interview, at which several persons were present, Gokla showed him the Peishwa's paper investing him with the full powers of his government, and, after some conversation, observed—"I have given you protection because your master was an old friend of mine; we are now enemies; the trial we have already had" (alluding to the action of the 5th) "has not turned out as I expected, but tell him we shall persevere; we may have taken our shrouds about our heads, but we are determined to die with our swords in our hands."

As soon as General Smith found the communication cut off, he advanced on Poona. From the time his division quitted Seroor, he was followed by flying parties of Mahrattas, who, owing to his want of cavalry, harassed his march. He arrived on the evening of the 13th, and preparations were made to attack the Peishwa before day-light of the 15th. His army, having obtained a considerable addition by the junction of most of the southern jagheerdars, had come out a few days before, and encamped with its left on the late cantonment of the British troops, and its right stretching along the Hyderabad road for several miles. The intended attack, however, on the morning of the 15th, was postponed by General Smith in consequence of

Nov. 13—15.

November. 10.

unforeseen difficulties at the ford. About sunset on the evening of the 16th an advanced brigade was ordered to cross the ford, and take up a position to the east of the Peishwa's army, at the village of Ghorepuray, for the purpose of co-operating in an intended attack on the ensuing morning: it was opposed by a body of the Peishwa's infantry, supported by parties of horse and two guns; but having succeeded in getting to its station, though with the loss of 84 men in killed and wounded, it was no longer molested during the night. In the morning, when General Smith moved towards the camp, he found it abandoned, and that the Peishwa had fled towards Satara. During the day the city was surrendered, and the greatest care being taken on this, as on every occasion, by General Smith for the protection of the peaceable part of the community, order and tranquillity were soon re-established. General Smith remained at Poona for five days, during which time the communication with Bombay was opened, and a party being detached for the purpose, succeeded in capturing several guns in the neighbourhood of the fort of Singurh. Some of the inhabitants of Poona, who fled, as usual, with their property towards the hill-forts, were sufferers on this occasion, as a great quantity of baggage was taken at the same time with the guns, and became the booty of the army.

On the 22nd November, General Smith, having been joined by a regiment of native cavalry, commenced pursuing the Peishwa, who remained at Maholy; and, during his stay there,

sent a party to Wassota, for the purpose of bringing the raja of Satara, his mother, and brothers to his camp, but he had quitted Maholy prior to the raja's arrival, owing to the approach of General Smith, before whom he fled to Punderpoor, and thence, turning up the bank of the Beema, he continued his flight until he ascended the Lag Ghaut, north of Joonere, where he occupied a position at Bamunwaree. This part of the country is exceedingly strong, with mountains on all sides, and the passes were stockaded by Trimbukjee Dainglia, who here joined the Peishwa with a reinforcement. The raja and his family were brought into his camp whilst on the route from Punderpoor. General Smith followed the Peishwa until he was past Poona, when he proceeded to Seroor: he there deposited his battering train and heavy baggage, and left a battalion of native infantry and a body of auxiliary horse to reinforce the station; he then proceeded by Ahmednugur down the Nimbadewra Ghaut, and up the bank of Paira to Sungumnere. Finding he had got to the northward of the Peishwa, he ascended the Wursura Ghaut, and here he divided his force, sending back a part by Ahmednugur, and, with a light division, continuing the pursuit of the Peishwa, who fled to the southward as soon as he heard of General Smith's arrival at Sungumnere, giving out that he intended to attack Poona. Great exertions were, therefore, made to come up with him; but, in the meantime, the most remarkable event of the war took place from the following circumstances. General

Pritzler, it must be premised, was at this time advancing with the reserve division of the Deccan army from Adonee towards Punderpoor, for the purpose of co-operating in the pursuit of the Peishwa, and Smith, deeming it probable that he should get to the northward of the Peishwa, as in fact he did, and that the Mahratta army, afraid of being driven back upon Pritzler, might descend into the Concan, where there was a small force fitted out by the Bombay government, under Lieutenant-Colonel Prother, employed in reducing the country, and which might thus be exposed to be cut off, it became necessary to provide against such an event. Accordingly Lieutenant-Colonel Burr, who was stationed at Poona, was directed, in case he should have positive information that the Peishwa had descended into the Concan, to detach the 2nd battalion, 6th regiment, from his own immediate command, to reinforce Lieutenant-Colonel Prother: and in that case he was authorized to call in to Poona the 2nd battalion, 1st regiment, lately left by General Smith to reinforce the cantonment at Seroor. But when the Peishwa commenced his flight to the southward, Colonel Burr, hearing that he meditated an attack on Poona, sent off an express for the 2nd battalion, 1st regiment, to reinforce himself.

The battalion, on receipt of this application, commenced its march from Seroor on the last day of the year, at eight o'clock in the evening. It consisted of little more than 500 rank and file, and was supported by two six-pounders, well manned by 24 Europeans

December 31.

of the Madras artillery, under a sergeant and a lieutenant. It was also accompanied by 300 of the newly-raised irregular horse, and the whole were under the command of Captain Francis Staunton. Having marched all night, by ten o'clock on the morning of New Year's Day, Captain Staunton reached the high ground above the village of Korygaom, on the Beema, where he beheld the whole of the Mahratta horse, consisting of about 25,000, on the opposite side of the river. He continued his march towards the bank, and the Peishwa's troops believed that he intended to ford, but as soon as he had gained the neighbourhood of the village, he immediately took post in it. Korygaom is a moderate sized village, immediately overhanging the steep bank of the Beema; but owing to the immense beds of the Indian rivers, which are never filled except during the rains, the channel occupied but a small part of the space between the banks, so that the village was 50 or 60 yards from the water. There is a mud wall which, at one time, probably surrounded the village, but it is now full of large breaches on the side next the river, and on the east it is completely open.* Most of the Peishwa's infantry, in number about 5,000, had gone on in advance towards the Bhore Ghaut, east of Poona; but on first descrying the battalion, immediate orders were sent to recall them. As soon as they arrived,

Jan. 1, 1818.

* I write this description of the village from recollection; I have not seen it for seven or eight years: not indeed since the morning after Captain Staunton evacuated it, when though I carefully examined that scene of rescent and desperate conflict, I at that time had no intention of publishing an account of it.

three bodies of 600 choice men in each, consisting of Arabs, Gosaeens, and regular infantry, mixed together, advanced on three different points, under cover of the bank of the river, and supported by two guns, to storm the village. A continued shower of rockets was at the same time poured into it, and many of the houses were set on fire. Captain Staunton had selected a commanding position for the guns; but unfortunately the interior of the village was not sufficiently reconnoitred, as there was a strong square enclosure commanding most of the streets, of which the enemy obtained possession, and whence they could not be dislodged. The village was immediately surrounded by horse and foot, and the storming party was supported by fresh troops. All access to the river was speedily cut off; Captain Staunton was destitute of provisions, and this detachment, already fatigued from want of rest and a long night march, now under a burning sun, without food or water, began a struggle as trying as ever was maintained by the British in India. Every foot of ground was disputed, several streets were taken and re-taken, but more than half the European officers being wounded, the Arabs made themselves masters of a small temple, towards the east side of the village, generally used as a choultry, where three of the officers were lying wounded. Assistant-Surgeon Wingate, one of their number, got up, and went out, but was immediately stabbed by the Arabs, and his body cruelly mangled. Lieutenant Swanston, who had two severe wounds, had the presence of mind to advise his remaining

companion to suffer the Arabs to rifle them unresistingly, which they did, but committed no further violence; and, in the meantime, a party of the battalion, under Lieutenant Jones and Assistant-Surgeon Wyllie, arrived to their rescue, re-took the choultry, avenged the death of Mr. Wingate, and carried their companions to a place of greater safety. The sufferings of the wounded became extreme from thirst; and the men who continued to conflict were fainting, or nearly frantic, from the dreadful privation of water. Some of the artillerymen, all of whom bore a very conspicuous part in this glorious defence, proposed to Captain Staunton that they should surrender if terms could be obtained. His determined refusal did not satisfy them, but Lieutenant Chisholm, their officer, being killed, the enemy, encouraged by this circumstance, rushed upon one of the guns and took it. Lieutenant Thomas Pattinson, adjutant of the battalion, lying mortally wounded, being shot through the body, no sooner heard that the gun was taken, than, getting up, he called to the grenadiers "once more to follow him," and, seizing a musket by the muzzle, rushed into the middle of the Arabs, striking them down right and left,* until a second ball through his body completely disabled him. Lieutenant Pattinson

* Lieutenant Pattinson was a very powerful man, being 6 feet 7 inches in height; nothing could exceed his heroic conduct on the memorable occasion where he received his wounds; he did not expire until the regiment reached Seroor, but unfortunately, in his last moments, he laboured under an impression that his corps had been defeated, which caused him great distress.

had been nobly seconded; the sepoys, thus led were irresistible, the gun was retaken, and the dead Arabs, litterally lying above each other, proved how desperately it had been defended. The body of Lieutenant Chisholm was found by his gun with the head cut off; Captain Staunton judiciously took advantage of the circumstance by pointing it out to the men, and telling them "such was the way all would be served, who fell dead or alive into the hands of the Mahrattas," on which they declared "they would die to a man," and the conflict was resumed by all with the most determind valour. Captain Staunton, Lieutenant Jones, and Assistant-Surgeon Wyllie were the only officers who remained fit for duty, and manfully persevered in continuing the defence. Their situation towards evening was very hopeless; Captain Staunton had apprized Colonel Burr of the difficulties he laboured under, and an unavailing attempt from Poona had been made for his relief. As the night fell, however, the vigour of the attack relaxed, and the men were able to procure a supply of water. By nine o'clock at night the firing ceased, and the village was evacuated by the Peishwa's troops.* Next morning the Mahratta army was still hovering round the village, and Captain Staunton opened his guns upon them as soon as he could see. They appeared to draw off in the direction of Poona; but they had heard of

January. 2.

* To commemorate this glorious defence, a monument was erected by government, recording the names of those who fell; the corps was made grenadiers, as their 1st battalion had been for the defence of Mangalore, and "*Mangalore and Korygaom*" became the animating motto of the regiment.

General Smith's approach, who was hastening forward with a very small force in hopes that the Peishwa might be encouraged to make a stand; but Captain Staunton not knowing of General Smith's advance, and having reason to believe the enemy was in wait for him on the route to Poona, gave out that it was his intention to proceed thither. As soon as it was dark, however taking as many of the wounded with him as he could carry, he moved out of the village at first in the direction of Poona, then, changing his route, he retreated to Seroor, where he arrived next morning, with the loss of 175 men in killed and wounded, of whom 20 were of the small detachment of artillery. Besides these, about one-third of the auxiliary horse were killed, wounded, and missing.* The Mahrattas lost 500 or 600 men, and have the generosity, on all occasions, to do justice to the heroic defenders of Korygaom. During the conflict the Peishwa sat on a rising ground on the opposite side of the

* There were eight European officers on this memorable defence.

2ND BATTALION, 1ST REGIMENT.

Captain Staunton.
Lieutenant and Adjutant Pattinson, died of his wounds.
Lieutenant Conellan, wounded.
Lieutenant Jones.
Assistant-Surgeon Wingate, killed.

ARTILLERY.

Lieutenant Chisholm, killed.
Assistant-Surgeon Wyllie.

AUXILIARY HORSE.

Lieutenant Swanston, wounded.

river, about two miles distant. Gokla, Appa Dessaye, and Trimbukjee directed the attacks, and at one time Trimbukjee entered the village. Bajee Rao frequently expressed his impatience, and asked his commanders "where were now their boasts of defeating the English when they could not overcome one battalion?" The raja of Satara was with the Peishwa, and having put up an aftabgeer, or screen from the sun, the latter begged he would put it down, "otherwise the English would send a cannon-ball through it."

After leaving Korygaom, the Peishwa fled towards the Carnatic, followed by General Pritzler who took up the pursuit near the Salpee Ghaut. On Bajee Rao's arrival on the Gutpurba, he was surprised to find a part of the country already in possession of the British government. It appeared that Brigadier General Munro, who had been originally sent up by the Madras government as commissioner to receive charge of the districts in the Carnatic, ceded by the treaty of Poona in June 1817, had collected a few regulars in addition to his own escort, and, by his personal influence and experience, had raised the native population, who were averse to the Mahrattas, as they had been to Tippoo, and eagerly desired a change of government.

The Peishwa, in pursuing the southern route, was supposed to have some hope of being joined by the raja of Mysore; but, disappointed in this respect, and alarmed at the progress of General Munro, he turned suddenly round, passed General Pritzler, and re-crossed the Kistna, where General Smith, having arrived with the light division,

pressed him very hard, until he got down the Salpee Ghaut, and went off in the
January 29. direction of Sholapoor. General Smith's division was then halted for the purpose of allowing General Pritzler to join, in order to form a new distribution of the force, according to a plan proposed by Mr. Elphinstone, who now took upon him the direction of affairs, by authority received from the governor general.

When the Marquis of Hastings heard of the Peishwa's treachery, superadded to the numerous proofs of his insidious and persevering intrigues against the British government, he determined to put an end to the dynasty of his family, and to annex his dominions to the company's territory, merely reserving a small tract, sufficient for the comfort and dignity of the imprisoned raja of Satara, which might serve as a counterpoise to the remaining influence of the Bramins, conciliate the Mahratta nation, and leave an opening for the employment of many persons, in their own way, whom it would have been expensive to subsist, and who could not obtained a livelihood under the English administration. Instructions to this effect were transmitted to Mr. Elphinstone, vesting him with full powers as sole commissioner for the settlement of the territory to be conquered. The 4th and 6th divisions of the Deccan army, under Generals Smith and Pritzler, were withdrawn from Sir Thomas Hislop's control, and placed at the disposal of the commissioner. These instructions were received by Mr. Elphinstone early in January, but various reasons induced

him to reserve their promulgation for a short period, until it could be done under impressions more favourable to the British cause than existed at the moment; and be then followed up, in a manner which should convince the Mahratta nation of the advantages of submission, and the hopelessness of resistance. Hitherto the pursuit of the Peishwa had been productive of nothing important excepting the political effect of holding him up as a fugitive. Whenever Bajee Rao was pressed, Gokla, with all the light troops, hovered round the pursuing divisions, firing long shots with their matchlocks, throwing rockets in favourable situations, and cutting off cattle and baggage. Some skirmishes took place in consequence, and the Mahrattas frequently suffered from the shrapnell shells of the horse artillery; but these affairs were attended with no advantageous result to either party.

The two divisions having united at Rehmutpoor, the whole force, under the command of General Smith, proceeded to Satara, which it was thought advisable to reduce, on account of the importance attached to the possession of that fortrees in the minds of the Mahratta people. It scarcely made any resistance, and was surrendered on the evening of the 10th February, when the British colours were hoisted, but next day they were hauled down, and the Bhugwa Jenda, or standard of Sivajee and his descendants, was, with due forms, hoisted in its place. A manifesto was at the same time published by the commissioner,

February 7.

February 10.

in the name of the British government, succinctly representing the whole conduct of Bajee Rao, and stating the reasons of its being deemed incumbent on the British to deprive him of public authority; to exclude him and his family from all concern in Deccan affairs; to take possession of his territory, and to govern the whole under the authority of the company, excepting a small tract to be reserved for the raja of Satara. It was declared that there should be no interference with the tenets of any religious sect; that all *wutun*, enam lands, established pensions, and annual allowances should be respected and continued, provided the owners withdrew from the service of Bajee Rao, and retired to their habitations in two months from that date. Farming of revenue was to be abolished, and the hereditary district and village officers were called upon to reserve the revenue, otherwise they would be compelled to make good the payments; and should they or any other wutundars afford aid or pay money to the deposed Peishwa, their *wutuns* were declared liable to confiscation. No notice was taken of jagheers, as it was soon understood they would be kept or restored according to the readiness with which the holders under the Peishwa should tender their allegiance to the new government, and, whilst retained, they became a powerful security for the fidelity of the claimants.

The reader who has perused the foregoing pages with attention will be able to judge of the merits of this proclamation, and how well it was calculated to the end in view, especially when

seconded by strenuous and persevering exertions on part of the military.

A new distribution of the two divisions of the army was immediately formed—one for the purpose of pursuing Bajee Rao, the other for besieging his forts. General Smith chose the former, as promising the most active service, and marched with two regiments of cavalry, a squadron of the 22nd dragoons, 1,200 auxiliary horse, and 2,500 infantry, in quest of the Peishwa. General Pritzler, in the meantime, attacked the strong hill forts immediately south of Poona, whilst a small force, originally sent back by Sir Thomas Hislop, under Lieutenant-Colonel Deacon to occupy the intended position of the 44th division in Candeish, had moved down at Mr. Elphinstone's request, and laid siege to Chakun. Other divisions were likewise occupying the country; General Munro in the Carnatic was eminently successful; the small force of Lieutenant-Colonel Prother, already mentioned, had taken many forts in the Concan; and another small detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Kennedy, likewise fitted out by the exertions of Sir Evan Nepean, governor of Bombay, had commenced operations in the Concan, south of Bancoote.

Whilst the new arrangement of the divisions and the reduction of Satara were in progress, Bajee Rao remained in the neighbourhood of Sholapoor, where he exacted large sums of money from the carcoon of the late Sewdasheo Bhow Mankesir. That minister died at Poona a short time before the breaking out of the war, and with the general

respect of all parties. During the short time he was employed after the surrender of Trimbukjee, he honorably endeavoured to convince Bajee Rao of the futility and wickedness of the course he meditated; and that there now was neither honor nor safety to the Mahratta nation, excepting by a faithful adherence to that alliance, which, when contracted, might in his opinion, have been avoided. The Peishwa deceived him respecting the secret insurrection; and though so well acquainted with Bajee Rao's character, when the facts were forced upon his conviction, he gave vent to expressions of indignation and disgust at the unparalleled deceit and treachery of his master.

At Sholapoor Bajee Rao was joined by a body of horse from Nagpoor under Gunput Rao, to whom we shall hereafter revert. In the meantime General Smith was marching towards the Mahratta army; the Peishwa decamped and moved to the westward, as Gokla conceived he should have no difficulty in passing the British detachment, and avoiding them or not as he thought proper. On the 19th General Smith arrived at Yellapoor; he heard that the Peishwa was on the route from Sholapoor towards Punderpoor. He therefore marched all that night in hopes of coming upon him; but before morning he learnt that he had gone to the northward, and was encamped at Ashtah. Taking, therefore, the cavalry and horse artillery, desiring the remainder to follow as expeditiously as they could, General Smith pushed forward, and came in sight of the Mahrattas

February 19.

about half-past eight, just as they were moving off the ground. The Peishwa sent Gokla a taunting message for having thus allowed the army to be surprised, to which the latter replied that he might rest assured his rear should be guarded. Gokla, having desired Appa Dessaye Nepankur, who was at the head of about 4,000 men, to support him, waited with 500 horse for the approach of the cavalry, who were then advancing in three columns, the dragoons being in the centre, the 7th on the right, and the 2nd regiment on the left. Gokla's friends advised him to retire for support, and return better prepared to meet them; but to this he objected, and merely replied, "whatever is to be done, must be done here." As the British troops came near, the Mahrattas fired a volley with little effect; and 300 of them, with Gokla at their head, came galloping down diagonally across the front, wheeled suddenly round on the flank of the 7th regiment of cavalry, as they were forming after crossing a ravine, and, driving upon them with their spears, occasioned considerable confusion; but Captain Dawes, of the 22nd dragoons, instantly throwing back a troop of his men, charged along the rear of the 7th, and, dashing into the middle of the Mahrattas, in a few minutes dispersed them in flight. Gokla fell on this occasion by the hand of a dragoon; and, though supposed to have been wounded before he came in contact with his antagonist, fought bravely to the last, literally dying, as he had pledged himself, with his sword in his hand. Govind Rao Ghorepuray and Anund Rao Babur, both

persons of distinction, were killed with him. The Mahrattas were pursued for some miles; several elephants, a quantity of baggage, and a few horses were taken; but the most important result was the capture of the raja of Satara with his mother and brothers, who on this occasion, to their great joy, were rescued from the power of Bajee Rao, and the thraldom of the Concanee Bramins. Prior to this event, the Mahrattas had resolved to stand a general action, as soon as Ramdeen, a partizan of Holkar's should arrive. For this purpose the Peishwa's infantry and guns, before left at Nepanee, had arrived at Kurar; but the unexpected attack of General Smith and the death of Gokla completely disconcerted their arrangements. The affair of Ashtah, trifling as it was, had a very material effect in hastening the termination of the war, and these advantages were purchased with the loss of only one man killed, and 18 or 20 wounded amongst the latter was General Smith. The Mahrattas, in the charge and during the pursuit, lost about 100 men. The raja of Satara, having been made over to the care of Mr. Elphinstone, General Smith proceeded to Seroor, and thence resumed the pursuit. Bajee Rao remained for a time at Kopergaom, where he was joined by the expected Ramdeen, and deserted by his lukewarm friends the Putwurdhuns. He next continued his route towards Chandore, intending ultimately to proceed to Nagpoor, where events, as interesting as those already detailed, had taken place before this period.

March 4.

March 12.

We left Appa Sahib in February 1817 established in the regency. It was not discovered at the time that he had been accessory to the death of the Raja Pursajee; and he was therefore proclaimed his successor by the name of Moodajee Bhonslay. The emissaries of the Peishwa were so successful at Nagpoor that, until the feigned insurrection, set up by Bajee Rao under Trimbukjee, was checked, Appa Sahib had pledged himself to take part in the warfare begun in that insidious manner; but, on hearing of the Peishwa's submission, he completely changed his conduct, and, although he continued in constant correspondence with Poona, the resident did not anticipate any more serious departure from the terms of his alliance, until it was known that the Peishwa had attacked the British troops. Upon this intelligence Appa Sahib secretly determined to make common cause with him, and immediately exerted himself, by every means in his power, to augment his military establishment. Mr. Jenkins, on perceiving these preparations, sent to Colonel Adams, requesting that a brigade of his division might be left to the southward of the Nerbuddah, and that a part of it should be held ready to march on Nagpoor. This application, however, was merely precautionary; Appa Sahib betrayed no other indication of hostile designs; on the contrary, he was profuse in his professions of friendship, and inveighed bitterly against the conduct of Bajee Rao in treacherously attacking the English; but on the night of the 24th November he sent to inform Mr. Jenkins that a khillut had arrived

November 24.

for him from the Peishwa, who had also sent him a Juree Putka, and conferred on him the title of Senaputtee; that he intended to go in state to his camp to receive these honors next day, and invited the resident to be present at the ceremoney. Mr. Jenkins' remonstrances against such a proceeding were, of course, of no avail; the insignia were received, and Appa Sahib's troops immediately took up positions in the vicinity of the residency, so threatening that Mr. Jenkins was induced to call in the brigade from its cantonment, about three miles westward of the city. Next day appearances were so hostile that preparations for defending the residency became necessary, and an express was despatched to call in the 2nd division of the Deccan army, under General Doveton. The whole force at Nagpoor consisted of a brigade of two battalions of Madras native infantry, the 1st battalion, 20th regiment, and 1st battalion, 24th regiment, both considerably reduced by sickness; the resident's escort of two companies of native infantry, three troops of the 6th regiment of Bengal native cavalry, and four sixpounders manned by Europeans of the Madras artillery. Lieutenant-Colonel Hopeton Scott was the senior officer.

November 26.

The residency lies to the west of the city of Nagpoor, and is separated from it by a rocky hill, running north and south, called Seetabuldee. At each extremity of this hill, and distant about 30 yards from each other, are two eminences; that to the north, which is close to the residency, is considerably larger and a little higher than that to the south; but the base of the latter,

being close to the huts of a village; communicating with the suburbs, and affording facility to the approach of irregulars, was a most important point, and was occupied by 300 men, of the 24th regiment, under Captain Sadler, supported by a sixpounder. The three troops of cavalry under Captain Fitzgerald occupied the enclosures surrounding the residency, being behind and partly to the right of the larger hill, upon which the remainder of the force was posted. In the evening, as the British pickets were about to be placed, a party was fired upon from the village, at the bottom of the lower hill; but, under the possibility of a mistake, they forbore returning it, until, upon a continuance of the aggression, they gave their fire, and retired upon the smaller hill, under a heavy discharge of matchlocks, which became the general signal for an attack on the British position. A smart fire was maintained on both sides till two o'clock in the morning, when it slackened on the part of the Mahrattas, but was renewed with great fury with cannon and musketry at daylight. The heaviest loss which the British had hitherto sustained was at the smaller hill. Frequent attempts had been made by the Arabs to carry it, and that post had been, in consequence of the slaughter, repeatedly reinforced. At last, by the accidental explosion of a tumbril, some confusion was created, of which the Arabs took immediate advantage, charged up the hill sword in hand, carried it, and immediately turned the gun against the larger hill, where the casualties became distressingly severe. Emboldened by their success, the enemy's horse and foot closed in from every

direction, and prepared for a general assault. To add to this appalling crisis, the Arabs got into the huts of the British troops, and the shrieks of the women and children reached the ears of the sepoys. The residency grounds, where Captain Fitzgerald was posted, were also attacked; guns were brought up, and bodies of horse threatened to break in. Captain Fitzgerald had repeatedly applied for permission to charge, and was as often prevented by orders from the commanding officer; but, seeing the impending destruction, he made a last attempt to obtain leave. Colonel Scott's reply was—"Tell him to charge at his peril." "At my peril be it," said the gallant Fitzgerald on receiving this answer, and immediately gave the word to advance. As soon as he could form clear of the enclosures, he charged the principal body of horse, drove them from two guns by which they were supported, pursued them to some distance, cut a body of infantry accompanying them to pieces, and brought back with him the captured guns. The infantry posted on the hill witnessed this exploit with loud huzzas; the greatest animation was kindled amongst them: it was proposed to storm the smaller hill as soon as the cavalry returned, but another explosion of ammunition having taken place amongst the Arabs on the south hill, the same accident by which it had been lost, men and officers, mingling together, rushed forward: irresistible under such an impulse, they carried everything before them, pursued the Arabs down the hill, took two of their guns, spiked them, and returned to their posts.

The Arabs again assembled, and evinced a determination to recover their ground; but as they were preparing to advance, a troop of cavalry, under Cornet Smith, charged round the base of the hill, took them in flank, and dispersed them. The British troops now advanced from the hills, drove the infantry from the adjoining huts, and by noon this trying conflict, only equalled during the war by the defence of Korygaom, had wholly ceased. Instances of heroism equal to that of Pattinson are adducible, particularly that of Lieutenant John Grant, adjutant of the 24th regiment, who though impeded by two severe wounds, was foremost in the storm of the smaller hill, and received a third and mortal wound as the post was carried.

The British had not 1,400 men fit for duty in the defence of Seetabuldee, whereas the army of Appa Sahib amounted to 18,000 men, half of whom were infantry, and of these 3,000 or 4,000 were Arabs, who fought with much resolution. The British lost 333 in killed and wounded, amongst whom 12 were European officers.* The Mahrattas lost about an equal number. The disproportion at Nagpoor was not much greater than at Poona; but the presence of an European regiment, and the advantage of acting offensively, gave a very different character to the contest.

Appa Sahib being foiled in his treacherous attempt, sent wukeels to express his sorrow, and to disavow his having authorized the attack; but

* Including Mr. Sotheby of the civil service, 1st assistant to the resident, who was killed.

Mr. Jenkins refused to treat with him under present circumstances, until he disbanded his troops, though he agreed to a suspension of hostilities. Reinforcements poured into Nagpoor from all quarters. Lieutenant-Colonel Gahan with a brigade from Colonel Adams' division appeared on the 29th, Major Pitman arrived with a detachment on the 5th December, and General Doveton, with the whole 2nd division, had reached Nagpoor before the middle of that month. On the morning of the 15th, Mr. Jenkins demanded the absolute submission of Appa Sahib, requiring of him to disband his troops, to place his territory at the disposal of the British government, and to surrender himself as a hostage for the performance of these conditions; but he was at the same time given to understand that, upon compliance, no harder terms should be enforced than a cession of territory equal to meet the expenses of the subsidiary force, and as much control in his internal government as should prevent similar treachery in future. Till four o'clock on the following morning was the time allowed for his acceptance of the terms. At six o'clock it was intimated that the troops would not permit Appa Sahib to come to the residency as he wished; a respite of three days was requested, but three hours only were granted. When the time expired, the troops advanced; Appa Sahib then came in, and the army was halted in hopes that his force would be disbanded, and his guns

November 29.

December 5.

December 15.

given up. Such of the latter as were in the arsenal were surrendered, but on advancing to take possession of the others, a cannonade was opened upon the British troops. The line was in consequence immediately formed, and the guns were stormed and taken, but with the loss of 141 men in killed and wounded. Two of Appa Sahib's officers, Gunput Rao and Mun Bhut, were the persons who maintained this resistance, and, it was supposed, without their master's orders. Gunput Rao afterwards went off towards the Peishwa's territory, and joined Bajee Rao, as already mentioned, near Sholapoor; but Mun Bhut, with the Arabs, retired to the fort of Nagpoor, where an attempt was made to storm one of the gates on the 24th December, and repulsed with the loss of 269 men in killed and wounded. The Arabs afterwards offered to surrender, on being permitted to march out with their property, families, and arms —terms which were admitted, because time was of importance, and there was no efficient battering train on the spot.

December 24.

The reserve division of the Bengal army stationed at Rewah under Brigadier-General Hardyman was ordered down to Nagpoor when the Marquis of Hastings was first apprized of the defection of Appa Sahib; but the order was not received until the 6th December, so that General Hardyman did not reach the neighbourhood until the whole was settled by General Doveton; but on the 19th December he routed a body of the enemy assembled at Jubbulpoor, reduced that

place, and co-operated with Lieutenant-Colonel M'Morine in occupying the whole of Appa Sahib's northern territory, excepting Choureeagurh and Mundelah. Hostilities at the capital were brought to a conclusion by the capitulation of the Arabs and the surrender of Mun Bhut; Mr. Jenkins, owing to the interruption of the communication, had received no instructions relative to Appa Sahib in case of submission; and therefore, in consequence of what had been already proposed, although the terms had not been complied with, Mr. Jenkins, on a consideration of all circumstances, conceived it incumbent on the British government to reinstate Appa Sahib, but deemed it necessary that his government should be most effectually controlled. For this purpose, to secure the subordination of the capital, the Seetabuldee hill was to be fortified; the British troops to have complete military occupation of the whole country; and a territorial cession, amounting to about 24 lakhs of rupees, equal to full charge of the subsidiary force, was demanded. A treaty to this effect was drawn out, and about to be submitted for the raja's acceptance, when, on the 2nd January, Mr. Jenkins received instructions from the Marquis of Hastings, issued on first hearing of the Raja's defection before being informed of what had passed subsequent to the arrival of General Doveton. These instructions forbade any reconciliation with Appa Sahib himself, and directed that the son of the daughter of the late Pursajee, a minor, should be placed on the musnud, and affairs confided to a regency,

selected by the British government. Afterwards, however, upon considering the motives which swayed the resident, respect for the moral obligation implied by the terms of his personal surrender induced the governor general to confirm the treaty* on the terms proposed by Mr. Jenkins.

At this point, therefore, we shall for the present leave the detail of Deccan affairs, and return to the operations which were about to be commenced by the British armies in Central India, when their Mahratta allies at Poona and Nagpoor, taking advantage of the removal of the British troops, treacherously attempted, as we have seen, to annihilate the detachments at their capitals.†

* The treaty was dated 6th January.

† Authorities as for the preceding chapter.

CHAPTER XIX.

A.D. 1817 AND A.D. 1818.

Pindharees.—Divisions close in upon the durras of Khureem Khan and Wasil Mohummud—pursuit of Cheetoo by Sir J. Malcolm.—Cheetoo is protected in Holkar's camp—hostile appearances.—General Malcolm forms a junction with Sir Thomas Hislop—battle of Mehidpoor—treaty with Holkar.—Cheetoo is protected by Jeswunt Rao Bhow, one of Sindia's generals—Jeswunt Rao is in consequence treated as an enemy—Camp attacked, and Jawud stormed by General Browne—destruction of the durras of Wasil Mohummud and Khureem Khan—and of Cheetoo—dispersion of the Pindharees—and dismemberment of the Patan association.—Treaties with Rajpoots.—Recompence to the raja of Boondee and nabob of Bhopaul.—Sir John Malcolm appointed to the government of Central India.—Operations in Bundelcund.—Storm of Talneir.—Operations against the Peishwa.—Affair of Sewnee.—Bajee Rao reduced to great distrees—writes to Sir J. Malcolm, who negotiates with him—interview—surrender—terms—remarks.—Seizure of Trimbukjee.—Escape of Appa Sahib.—Siege and capture of Assergurh.

A.D. 1817.

DURING the rains of 1817, the Pindharees in three separate bodies, or durras, under their leaders Cheetoo, Khureem Khan, and Wasil Mohummud, occupied positions between Indore and Sagur. Khureem Khan was particularly active in recruiting his durra, and was anxious to concert some general plan for eluding the coming storm; but the enmity between him and Cheetoo was too rancorous to admit of cordial co-operation, even in self-defence. They were promised assistance by all the native princes, according to their hopes

or fears, but none stood forth openly in their favour. The left division of the Bengal army assembled on the 10th October at Kalinjer in Bundelcund under Major-General Marshall, and reached Sagur by the 28th. Whilst on its march, a party of Pindharees from the durra of Wasil Mohummud got in its rear, and began to ravage the territory in Bundelcund; but their progress was arrested by a detachment from the governor general's division, which obliged them to return to Malwa; and this was the only enterprize attempted by the Pindharees. General Marshall, without noticing this attempted diversion, marched on according to his instructions,
November 10. and arrived at Rylee on the 10th November, where he opened a communication with Colonel Adams, whose division was already in its prescribed position at Hooshingabad. Sir Thomas Hislop by the same time had reached Hurda, and assumed command of the first division of the Deccan army; Sir John Malcolm, with the third division, composed of the Nizam's battalions and the Mysore irregular horse, had arrived in that neighbourhood some time before; and the Guzerat division, having advanced from Baroda, was in its position at Dohud. Everything was now ready for the combined movement, when news of the breaking out of hostilities at Poona reached Sir Thomas Hislop. Conceiving from this intelligence, and from recent accounts of apprehended treachery in the court of Nagpoor, that it would be necessary to support Brigadier-Generals Smith and Doveton, General Hislop, departing from his instructions,

immediately reinforced General Malcolm's division with a brigade of the regular troops, and sent him forward to co-operate against the Pindharees, whilst he himself, with the first division, began to retrace his steps towards Burhanpoor. Sir John Malcolm crossed the Nerbuddah on the 16th November, and Colonel Adams on the 14th. By a concerted movement with General Marshall, the three divisions respectively reached Ashtah, Rassein, and Ratgurh on the 22nd, and thence, in the same manner, reached Tullain, Bairsea, and Gunj Basouda by the 26th. They thus drove the Pindharees from their accustomed haunts, and their lands were either taken possession of, or restored to the agents of Sindia and the nabob of Bhopaul. The durras of Wasil Mohummud and Khureem Khan united about Seronje, and thence, invited by Sindia, took the route of Gwalior; but Cheetoo went off to the north-west, in hopes of support from Holkar, and from Jeswunt Rao Bhow, one of Sindia's officers stationed, as already noticed, at Jawud. Lord Hastings' camp at this period was at Erich, and he had placed detachments connecting his own with General Marshall's division. Upon ascertaining that Khureem and Wasil Mohummud had come to the northward, one of the detachments moved from Burwa Sagur through Dutteea, across the Sindh, so as to cut them off from Gwalior; and Lord Hastings brought his division within 30 miles of Sindia's camp, which had the effect of completely overaweing that chieftain. The Pindharees, unable

November 19.

November 22.

November 26.

to advance to Gwalior, or to return to the southward, whence General Marshall and Colonel Adams were closing in upon them, remained at Shahabad until General Marshall, though he advanced tardily, was close upon them. They then forded the Lodwana Ghaut, leading into Huraotee, which they were enabled to effect, owing to the misconduct of a party of Zalim Sing's troops posted there; but General Marshall succeeded in destroying a few of them. They then intended to cross the Chumbul by the Loharee ford; but they were intercepted by General Donkin; and Khureem, with Wasil Mohummud, after having burnt their baggage, went off to the southward, at the head of 4,000 of the best-mounted of their followers, with whom they succeeded in passing Colonel Adams' division, and directed their flight westward into Meywar. Of those who were left behind, some were cut off by the troops, and some by the exasperated villagers; one considerable body, however, got clear off to the southward, and, after traversing the whole Deccan, entered the company's provinces in the Carnatic, where they were annihilated, or completely dispersed, before the end of the ensuing January.

The scene of operations was now changed; General Marshall was posted at Seronje, Colonel Adams moved down upon Gungraur, and General Browne, detached with a part of the Marquis of Hastings, division, also proceeded westward, in a parallel direction to the northward of Colonel Adams; General Donkin, re-crossing the Chumbul, took post at Shahpoora, west of the Bunass. But

whilst such was the progress of the Pindharee warfare in the east of Malwa, more important events were passing to the westward.

When Cheetoo went off towards Holkar's camp, he was pursued by General Malcolm with the third division; but there being reason to apprehend that hostility was meditated by Holkar's army, Colonel Adams for a time inclined his march to the west, in order to be able to support Sir John Malcolm; on its being understood, however, that the governor general disapproved of Sir Thomas Hislop's retrogade movement, and had ordered him on as first directed, Colonel Adams co-operated, as before, against Khureen and Wasil Mohummud.

December 4. Sir John Malcolm continued to pursue Cheetoo, until the latter found refuge in Holkar's camp, in the vicinity of Mehidpoor, when the third division halted at Agur on the 4th December.

It has hitherto been quite unnecessary to refer to the everlasting turmoil of Holkar's durbar. The Mahratta faction, which Toolsee Bye, the regent, joined, had, in a moment of superiority over their Patan rivals, put the minister Ballaram Seit to death, which threw the principal power into the hands of Tattya Jogh, and Holkar's hereditary dewan, Gunput Rao, a man of weak intellect, under the guidance of Tattya Jogh; he was also the paramour of Toolsee Bye, over whom her passion gave him entire ascendancy. When the Peishwa's emissaries were negotiating the confederacy against the British government, one of their objects was to reconcile the Patan and

Mahratta factions; but at the crisis when the British army crossed the Nerbuddah, there was a division amongst all parties and factions in Holkar's camp. Gunput Rao had been for a time gained over to the Peishwa's cause, and Toolsee Bye had no will but his; Tattya Jogh, suspected of being favourable to a negotiation opened by Mr. Metcalfe on the part of the British government, was placed under restraint, and the war faction, or, in other words, Bajee Rao's influence, predominated. The negotiation alluded to as opened by Mr. Metcalfe was part of the governor general's plan, who, as will be recollected, intended to form a treaty with Holkar, nearly similar to that which was concluded with Sindia. The proposals were made to Holkar at the same time that the terms were offered to Umeer Khan; but no reply was received until the middle of November, when a secret communication from Toolsee Bye, offering to place the young Mulhar Rao and herself under the protection of the British government, was by the advice of Tattya Jogh, transmitted to Mr. Metcalfe. The regency, however, being under the control of their own soldiery, were obliged to yield to the popular cry in the camp, and to move towards the Deccan, trusting to some favourable opportunity of effecting their purpose, though now obliged to join in the general demonstrations of loyalty in favour of the sovereign Peishwa. But Gunput Rao having, as already mentioned, been gained over, Toolsee Bye likewise seceded from the plan of seeking protection from the British; and Tattya Jogh, the original proposer of that measure, was placed in confinement. The

soldiery were averse to the admission of terms from the British government, because the chiefs knew they must lose power and consequence which the existing state of anarchy conferred, and the troops apprehended the loss of their bread. Before Holkar's army quitted Rampoorah, some advances were made by the Peishwa's agent, and larger sums were promised as soon as they should cross the Nerbuddah. They were joined by Roshun Beg, one of Holkar's commanders, with 14 battalions before they reached Mehidpoor, and all were apparently enthusiastic in the Peishwa's cause. The arrival of General Malcolm's division in their neighbourhood caused some alteration in the minds of the regency; but the general indications of hostility were so strong that Sir John Malcolm retired, upon the first division advancing, to Oojein. The division from Guzerat ought to have been by that time about the same point, but Sir William Grant Keir had fallen back a considerable distance, at the requisition of the Bombay government, as, in consequence of the Peishwa's defection, disturbances were apprehended in Guzerat; but of this movement the governor general disapproved, and the division was ordered to return for the purpose of co-operating as at first directed.

In the meantime, the first and third divisions, having united, advanced towards Holkar's camp. Terms agreeably to Lord Hastings' instructions were offered, and a show of negotiation was kept up by Ghuffoor Khan and the Patan commanders, in the name of Mulhar Rao Holkar; but their horse committed

December 14.

hostilities, molested the foragers, carried off cattle, and at last made a direct attack on a body of the Mysore horse. So determined were the Patans to cut off all chance of pacification, that, suspecting the regency of an intention to accept the terms, they confined Gunput Rao, and put Toolsee Bye to death. When Sir Thomas Hislop found his parties attacked, he immediately determined on bringing affairs to a crisis. Holkar's troops, estimated at nearly 20,000 men, of whom about one-half were infantry, were posted on the left bank of the Seeprah, and on the opposite side from that on which the British army was advancing. Sir Toomas Hislop had four regiments of native cavalry, two squadrons of dragoons, a battalion of Europeans, and, including the Nizam's corps, seven battalions of native infantry, besides a considerable body of irregular horse. The position of Holkar's troops at the point attacked was exceedingly strong. The ford by which it was determined to cross was about 800 yards from the enemy's line of infantry, which was drawn up at an angle of the Seeprah, with its left flank protected by the steep bank of that river, and its right covered by a deep ravine; its front was lined with a formidable artillery, consisting of about 70 pieces, many of them heavy guns, which, being well served, overpowered the light English field-pieces, and occasioned a heavy loss before the British troops, after crossing the ford, had time to form an advance, which they did with all their characteristic bravery. The first and second brigades,

December 20.

December 21.

gallantly led on by Sir John Malcolm, had the principal duty to perform; the Madras rifle corps bore a very conspicuous part in the battle, but earned the honor at a high price, having suffered most severely. Holkar's artillerymen stood bravely to their guns, even after their battalions had retired; but all the cannon were taken, excepting five or six of the lighter pieces, which were carried off by the flying troops. Holkar's horse showed considerable spirit in skirmishing before the British army crossed the river, but fled as soon as the action became general. This victory cost the British troops a loss of 778 men in killed and wounded, of whom 38 were European officers. Holkar's army lost 3,000 men, principally in the pursuit; but it is creditable to his battalions that two bodies of the infantry effected their retreat when the British general was so strong in cavalry. One of these bodies, under Roshun Beg, reached Rampoorah, where it was attacked and dispersed on the 10th January by the division under General Browne, detached, as already mentioned, from the force under the personal command of Lord Hastings. The other body was under Ramdeen, a person notorious in the intrigues and anarchy of the period, who made good his way to the Deccan, and joined Bajee Rao, as already mentioned, at Kopergaom. After the battle, Sir John Malcolm, with a light force, followed up the main body of the fugitives on the route towards Mundisore; whilst Sir Thomas Hislop, joined by the Guzerat division, followed in the same direction a few days afterwards. At Mundisore

Jan. 10, 1818.

the submission of the young Holkar was tendered, and a treaty was concluded on the 6th of January.

January 6.

By this treaty Holkar confirmed the agreement with Umeer Khan; ceded several districts in perpetuity to the rana of Kotah, which Zalim Sing had before only rented; transferred his tribute on the Rajpoots to the British government; and also ceded to it his territory north of the Boondee hills, and south of the Sautpoora mountains. He agreed to commit no hostilities, to have no communication with other states, and to entertain in his service no native of Europe or America, without the sanction of the British government; to discharge his superfluous troops, but to maintain a contingent of 3,000 horse, which were to co-operate with the English troops when required. The jagheer of Ghuffoor Khan was to be continued under the guarantee of the British government. A wukeel from Holkar was to reside at Calcutta, and a resident envoy was to be appointed to Holkar's court. The British government became bound to protect the territories of Holkar, and to maintain a field force for that purpose.

Sindia's durbar, after the conclusion of the treaty with Holkar, became perfectly tractable; but some of his officers still showed a determination to support the Pindharees. After the battle of Mehidpoor, Cheetoo proceeded to Jawud, and was admitted into the camp of Jeswunt Rao Bhow, who at first refuse to receive Captain Caulfield, the superintending officer appointed to his division. But afterwards, pretending to comply with whatever was required, he desired Cheetoo

to withdraw, and allowed Captain Caulfield to join him. It was found, however, that he harboured and protected the Pindharees, whom he would neither arrest nor expel from his camp; and the Marquis of Hastings at last gave orders that he should be treated as a public enemy. The division under General Browne was sent against him; and here, as at Rampoorah, this division was distinguished by the prompt and efficient manner it performed the required service; the camp of Jeswunt Rao was beat in, his guns were captured, one of the gates of Jawud was blown open, and the town taken on the 28th January. The districts occupied by Jeswunt Rao Bhow had been usurped from the rana of Oudepoor, with whom an agreement similar in principle to those with the other Rajpoot states, had been concluded by the British government on the 13th January. Kumulnere, Rypoor, and Ramnugur—three forts of some consequence, particularly Kumulnere—being situated in the usurped districts, General Donkin was ordered to reduce them, which was effected with little trouble by the middle of February. When General Donkin's division was broken up, the service in this quarter being by that time completed, a part of it joined Sir David Ochterlony, then engaged in negotiating with the Patans, and aiding in the settlement with the Rajpoots.

January 28.

In the meantime Cheetoo, with his durra of Pindharees, had gone off in a north-westerly direction, when the pursuit was taken up by the

Guzerat division with considerable effect. A part of the durra was destroyed, and several of their parties were overtaken in villages. Cheetoo, finding himself harassed, turned suddenly to the southward, and, by passing through a very difficult country, where Sir William Grant Keir found it impossible to follow him, he effected his escape; he re-appeared near Dhar, whither he was followed by the Guzerat division by another route. The broken remains of the durras of Wasil Mohummud and Khureem, at the time when they thought themselves secure from pursuit, were completely surprised in the middle of January by a detachment from Colonel Adams' division, which destroyed a great number of them. Khureem was not with his followers at the time, having been left in a jungle as they were flying through Huraotee; but he was in Jawud when the town was stormed by General Browne, and escaped on foot with great difficulty. After a variety of adventures, Khureem surrendered himself to Sir John Malcolm on the 15th February; Namdar Khan came in on the 3rd February, with such of his followers as remained, and many of the principle chiefs followed his example. The only terms required by Namdar Khan were an assurance that he should not be sent to Europe or Calcutta. Many persons belonging to the durras of Wasil Mohummud and Khureem gave themselves up to Zalim Sing of Kotah, and the small parties dispersed. Wasil Mohummud in person took refuge in Sindia's camp at Gwalior, where the British authorities would not seize him,

but caused Sindia to do so, that it might be manifest to all India that an enemy of the British government could nowhere find an asylum. He was not imprisoned, but kept at Ghazeepoor under a strict watch; and at last, being intercepted in an attempt to escape, he destroyed himself by poison.

Of the Pindharees, Cheetoo's durra alone remains to be accounted for. The main body had hitherto escaped; but on the 25th January it was completely surprised and dispersed by a detachment from the garrison of Hinda; and the Bheels and Grassias in the neighbourhood, from whom, it may be recollected, the Pindharees took several districts, being encouraged to attack the fugitives, spared none who fell into their hands. Cheetoo with 200 followers escaped: he endeavoured to make terms for himself through the nabob of Bhopaul, but his demands were extravagant, and, being again pursued, his followers dropped off daily. He afterwards went through a variety of adventures, and we shall again have occasion to mention him; but at length, hunted from his last asylum, and still bearing up with a spirit and perseverance worthy of the leader of a better band, Cheetoo, when singly pursuing his flight, was devoured by a tiger in the jungles adjoining the fortress of Aseergurh. The Pindharees thus dispersed, without leaders, and without a home or a rendezvous, were afterwards little heard of, though flying parties were seen in the Deccan until the termination of the war with the

January 25.

Peishwa: they mingled with the rest of the population, but the real Pindharees still retain their name, though some of them have become active improving farmers.*

With regard to the Patans, Umeer Khan, after he had made the agreement with Mr. Metcalfe for himself, did not ratify it until he heard of the defence at Seetabuldee, when, considering the Mahratta game as completely lost, he immediately dismissed the Peishwa's agents, ratified the engagement with the British government, and endeavoured by every means in his power to fulfil its stipulations.

The advance of Sir David Ochterlony, who judiciously interposed his division between the two principal Patan camps, would soon have compelled Umeer Khan to submission, had coercion become necessary; but his presence in that situation was afterwards very important in enabling Umeer Khan to obtain the promised guns, and to satisfy the turbulent soldiery. The Patans were prevented from trying their strength by the fate of Holkar's troops at Mehidpoor, by the influence and cunning of Umeer Khan, and by the address and firmness of Sir David Ochterlony. Some of them were dismissed with part of their arrears, some of them were taken into the service, and the whole were overawed or conciliated without bloodshed.

The presence of Sir David Ochterlony likewise

* I know personally some of this description settled in the Deccan, and, I dare say, many may be found cultivating the fields in Malwa.

facilitated the negotiations with the Rajpoots, and enabled the Marquis of Hastings to complete his plans, or put the whole into a train of adjustment by the middle of February. A treaty with Joudpoor was signed on the 6th January, but the negotiation with Jeypoor did not terminate until the 2nd April, when a treaty was concluded. All the other states and principalities, excepting Sagur, of which the British government took possession, accepted the terms offered by the governor general; and Sindia having given up the district of Ajmere, and relinquished his tribute on the raja of Boondee, in exchange for part of the lands of the jagheerdar of Vinchoor, situated in Malwa, and forfeited by his adherence to the cause of Bajee Rao, the British government was thus enabled to recompense the hitherto ill-requited raja of Boondee, who behaved so well to the English when retreating under Colonel Monson. Not only was the tribute thus obtained from Sindia relinquished by the British Government, but all the possessions usurped from the raja by Holkar were restored, and Sindia's encroachments, within his frontier, were also recovered for him by negotiation. The record of this instance of national gratitude will be read by every Briton with satisfaction, and the Marquis of Hastings also had it in his power to confer on the nabob of Bhopaul a reward equally suitable, not only for the friendship of his ancestor towards General Goddard's army, but for the zeal he had himself displayed in the British cause* during the present

* He sold his jewels to support troops.

war, since he acceded to the proffered terms in the month of November. A treaty was concluded with him on the 26th February, by which a small contingent of 600 horse and 400 infantry was all that was required to be furnished for the service of the British government, and five districts* were ceded to him in perpetuity for their support. Some forfeited lands of the Vinchorkur, and a part of the district of Shujawulpoor, were afterwards added; the fort of Islamnuggur, a much-valued possession, was likewise obtained for him from Sindia by negotiation. These cessions placed the principality of Bhopaul on a very respectable footing; and amongst the natives of India, where the recollections of benefits and injuries are treasured up for generations, nothing in the whole administration of the Marquis of Hastings conveyed so deep an impression of the value of British friendship, as the conduct of its government to Boondee and Bhopaul.

The military operations in Central India being completed, Sir John Malcolm remained there as agent for the governor general; and by the active exertions and conciliatory methods, which during a long career have characterized his services, and which, on the whole, have been surpassed by those of no living servant of the East India Company, that officer introduced order and peace in an extensive tract, where those blessings had been long unknown.

The division under General Marshall was ordered from Seronje into Bundelcund; and, after reducing Sagur, took Dhamounee and Mundelah

* Ashtah, Ichawur, Sehar, Dowaha, and Dewapana.

belonging to the territory of Nagpoor, the killidars of which had refused to surrender, in consequence of secret orders from Appa Sahib. At the same time that General Marshall was sent into Bundelcund, the greater part of the first, third, and fifth divisions were placed at the disposal of Mr. Elphinstone, to assist in the more important revolution going forward in the Deccan.

Sir Thomas Hislop, as commander-in-chief at Madras, proceeded to Fort St. George; but, on his way to the southward, he took possession of those places in his immediate route which were ceded to the British government by Holkar. The killidar of Talneir, from a pertinacity common to governors of forts in India, resisted the order of surrender; and, although warned from the first that he should be treated as a rebel if he refused to obey the orders of his government, he continued to fire upon the British troops. A storming party was therefore sent to force the entrance of the fort, which is by five successive gates; of these, the first and second were passed without difficulty, and at the third the killidar came out and surrendered himself. He also returned with the party through the third and fourth gates, which were opened, but at the fifth gate there was some demur made by the Arabs when told they must surrender at discretion; the wicket, however, was at last opened, and a few officers and men had entered, when the Arabs, from some misapprehension, rushed upon them, cut most of them down and, amongst the number, killed Major Gordon and Captain Macgregor. Their companions behind, hearing of what had been perpetrated,

with the exasperated feelings of British troops where they suspect treachery, rushed in as fast as they could gain admittance, and of a garrison of about 300 men, one only, by leaping the wall, escaped with life. Sir Thomas Hislop, under the same impulse by which the troops were actuated, ordered the killidar to be hanged as the cause of all the bloodshed, without reflecting on the probability of his not being, even in the first instance, wholly to blame for his lamentable catastrophe, and that his subsequent conduct entitled him to clemency.

In taking possession of the forts in the territory ceded by Holkar, Sir Thomas Hislop was aided by the second division under General Doveton, who, shortly after the surrender of Nagpoor, had proceeded to the westward, believing that everything in the quarter he had just quitted was finally arranged; but no sooner was Appa Sahib reinstated on his musnud, than he renewed his intrigues, encouraged the savage Goands to revolt, sent secret orders to his killidars to resist the orders of surrender which he had granted in favour of the British government, and applied to Bajee Rao for assistance. An application to this effect had arrived at the time Gunput Rao joined the Peishwa near Sholapoor, and frequent messengers followed, subsequent to the affair of Ashtah, imporling succour.

We left Bajee Rao on the route to Chandore. Before he reached that place, hearing of the approach of the divisions under Sir Thomas Hislop and General Doveton, he returned to Kopergaom but there, having learnt that General Smith was

advancing, he pursued his route to Bheer, and thence, turning off to the eastward, hastened towards Chandah in the territory of Nagpoor, sending Gunput Rao foward to the assistance of his master by a different route.

Sir Thomas Hislop endeavoured to intercept or overtake the Peishwa's army, but, finding they were beyond the reach of pursuit, he continued his march to Poona, and left the conduct of operations to Generals Doveton and Smith. The former took the route by Basum and Kurinja, the latter moved eastward along the line of the Godavery.

In the meantime, Mr. Jenkins, having discovered Appa Sahib's extraordinary treachery, arrested him; and preparations being made to oppose the advancing succour, Gunput Rao's party was met on the banks of the Wurdah, and driven back by a detachment under Colonel Scott. Colonel Adams with his division also arrived on the banks of the Wurdah in a few days; and Bajee Rao, uncertain how to proceed, halted at Pander Koura to the west of the Wurdah. There he was hemmed in by the divisions of Doveton and Adams, and, in endeavouring to avoid the former, was driven upon the latter near Sewnee, where a considerable number of his followers were killed. Many of his jagheerdars had quitted his standard before this event, and most of them took advantage of the opportunity to disperse to their homes. The Peishwa's brother, Chimnajee Appa, fled to the

March 15.

April 3.

April 6.

April 18.

southward with Appa Dessaye Nepankur and Naroo Punt Apty, and surrender himself to a party detached to intercept him by General Smith. Colonel Adams, as soon as the pursuit ceased, proceeded against Chandah, which was held by the partizans of Appa Sahib, and after a short siege carried the place by assault. Bajee Rao, followed by General Doveton, fled in great consternation to the northward, and for six days his army suffered severely from fatigue and privation. He had faint hopes of aid from Sindia; but all he now desired was a good opportunity of throwing himself in the way of the British general. He had made many overtures to Mr. Elphinstone, but as they always implied an ability to treat, he was distinctly told his submission only could be accepted. He again despatched agents to Mr. Elphinstone and to the resident at Nagpoor, but continued his route, forded the Taptee on the 5th May, and advanced towards Sindwa, where he intended to cross the Nerbuddah; but finding that point guarded, and that Sir John Malcolm had made every preparation to intercept him, he sent forward an agent, Anund Rao Chundawurkur with a letter to that officer, and retired to wait the result at Dholkote, in the neighbourhood of Asseergurh. That fortress, though stipulated to be given up by Sindia in the treaty of the 5th November, was still held by his killidar, Jeswunt Rao Lar, who had always refused to surrender. Here Bajee Rao, with about 8,000 men, remained in a state of the utmost disquietude and alarm; he was unacquainted with the country, and, excepting the Vinchorkur and Aba Poorundhuree,

abandoned by almost every person of consequence in the Mahratta country; the fords and passes to the northward were guarded, and troops were closing in upon him on every side. His Agent reached General Malcolm's camp at Mhow, near Indore, on the 16th May. On receiving the Peishwa's overtures, Sir John Malcolm, who had been furnished with a copy of the governor general's instructions to the commissioner in the Deccan, resolved to make the Peishwa's letter the basis of a negotiation for his surrender. Accordingly two of his political assistants, Lieutenants Low and M'Donald, were despatched towards the camp of Bajee Rao, instructed to open a negotiation, requiring him to renounce all sovereignty for himself and family for ever in the Deccan, to which he was never to return; and to surrender Trimbukjee and the murderers of the Vaughans. After these preliminaries, Lieutenant Low was to insist upon his immediately separating himself from Ramdeen, and all proscribed rebels and Pindharees, and advance to meet Sir John Malcolm, who in such case promised to become the medium of an adjustment with the British government, and obtain for him a liberal maintenance at such holy city as he might select for his future residence. The governor general did not approve of any deputation to Bajee Rao, both because it had a tendency to cramp the military operations against him, and conveyed an impression of the Peishwa's being in a condition to treat, when he was, in fact, eager to submit. Some circumstances proved the justness of these opinions; and, in several

respects, there was an inconsiderate zeal evinced in the proceedings on this occasion which has not escaped censure. The Marquis of Hastings, although he had given the outline of the conduct to be observed towards the Peishwa, reserved to himself the particular terms to be granted to him, after obtaining his submission to a justly offended nation; but before his sentiments in regard to the first steps taken by Sir John Malcolm could be received, Bajee Rao, on the 3rd June, after a protracted negotiation, surrendered himself,* on condition that the stipulated maintenance should not be less than eight lakhs of rupees a year, which was promised to him by Sir John Malcolm, from an idea that it should not be less than the pension of his brother Amrut Rao. The Marquis of Hastings deemed the amount too great; and seeing that his deposal was declared, and his country almost entirely reduced, knowing also the intriguing disposition of Bajee Rao, and the amassed treasure which he and his adherents might secreted for purposes hostile to the British government, it was generally considered the extreme of liberality. But there was a conditional promise to Bajee Rao in favour of jagheerdars who had adhered to his cause, and of Bramins and religious establishments supported by his family, which was quite unnecessary, and certainly should have been avoided; because it

* Before surrendering himself, he had an interview with Sir J. Malcolm, and in a private conference displayed his usual address and eloquence, appealing to Sir John as the last of his three earliest and best friends—Colonel Close being dead, and General Wellesley (the Duke of Wellington) in a distant land.

implied that Bajee Rao was in a condition to treat, not only for himself, but for others; it detracted in some degree from the liberality of the British government in the settlement of the conquered territories, and it obtained for Bajee Rao, amongst such of the Mahrattas as were disposed to advocate his cause, praise which he did not merit, and honor which it never could have been the intention of Sir J. Malcolm to confer. Whilst commenting, however, in this instance, on the supposed failings of the politician, justice is due to the generous feelings of the man; Sir J. Malcolm saw the prince whom he had visited nine months before in the midst of a gay court, and in a newly-erected palace on the banks of the Kistna, now a harassed and houseless fugitive; he forgot the manner in which he had been so grossly deceived; he thought only of the contrast in the Peishwa's situation, and of the benefits which the British government had derived from its connection with that misguided and unfortunate individual; and he pitied those faithful adherents who still followed their sovereign in hopeless adversity, and forfeited their all, when, by personal submission, they might have secured their possessions. The Marquis of Hastings ratified the terms; and Beithoor, a place of sanctity near Cawnpore, was appointed for Bajee Rao's future residence, to which he was immediately conducted.

Ramdeen surrendered on being promised pardon, but Bajee Rao evaded compliance with that part of the stipulated terms which required the surrender of Trimbukjee; he escaped to the

southward, and for a time attempted to collect adherents, and conceal himself as before; but Captain Briggs, Mr. Elphinstone's agent in Candeish, discovered the place of his retreat, and by a well-concerted plan sent a party of irregular horse under Lieutenant Swanston,* who seized him in the village of Aheergaom. He was afterwards conveyed to the fort of Chunargurh in Bengal, where he remains a prisoner. The surrender of Bajee Rao was an important event, and was rendered more so by the escape of Appa Sahib—a circumstance which partly actuated Sir John Malcolm during the negotiation.

After the arrest of Appa Sahib by Mr. Jenkins, the governor general directed that he should be sent to Allahabad, and there confined. He was accordingly sent off from Nagpoor for that purpose; but having corrupted some of the sepoys of a Bengal corps on his guard, and being furnished with a suit of their regimentals, he got off in that disguise on the morning of the 13th May, and fled to the Mahdeo hills between Nagpoor and the Nerbudah, whence it was impossible to dislodge him during the monsoon. Here he was joined by Cheetoo Pindharee; and the person of Appa Sahib became a rallying-point for all the disbanded and broken troops of the country. The unfortunate negligence which occasioned his escape was productive of much harassing service, owing to insurrections in various quarters.

* The same officer who assisted in the defence, and was severely wounded, at Korygaom.

The grandson of the late Rughoojee Bhoslay, a minor named Goozur, was in the meantime adopted by the widow of the late Rughoojee, and, assuming the name of his grandfather, was seated on the musnud. The widow was considered regent; but for the present, and during the minority, the whole administration was committed to the charge of the resident, who, in the raja's name, directed every department under the immediate superintendence of officers appointed by himself.

The season was considerably advanced before troops could be spared to co-operate in a combined attack upon the position of Appa Sahib; it was hoped he might be taken; but being assisted by the skill and intelligence of Cheetoo, he passed one of the parties which was hemming him in, and though subsequently exposed to imminent danger from a guard of British troops, he succeeded in gaining the fort or neighbourhood of Aseergurh.

That celebrated fortress was besieged by General Doveton, Sir John Malcolm co-operating with a force from Malwa. After a respectable defence during about 20 days, it surrendered on the 9th of April 1819. Appa Sahib, if he ever had been in the fort, made his escape. He afterwards sought refuge amongst the Seiks, where he still is; and no desire being evinced by the British government to receive his submission, he has sunk into the insignificance to be expected from a person of his weak and treacherous character. The dreadful fate of Cheetoo, as he attempted to fly from Aseergurh, has been already told.*

* Authorities as in the preceding.

CHAPTER XX.

A. D. 1818 AND A. D. 1819.

The final reduction and settlement of the Peishwa's territory—Capture of the principal forts by General Pritzler.—The raja of Satara placed on his throne.—Successes of General Munro—attack and dispersion of the remaining infantry at Sholapoor.—Reduction of the Concan accomplished by the Bombay government.—Appointment of officers to the civil government of the country—instructions—procedure.—The capture of Mallygaom and Prucheetgurh completes the reduction of the Peishwa's territory—mode of preventing insurrection—of settling the Bheels—detection of a conspiracy.—Claims—the Nizam—jagheerdars.—Judicial and revenue administration—Punchayets—rewards—charitable donations.—Hindoo college—Remarks on the settlement.

In the preceding chapter we were drawn forward to mention the last event of the war, whilst the reduction and settlement of the Peishwa's territory remains to be briefly explained. By the 10th of April the strong forts of Singurh, Poorundhur, and Wassota, with many others, had been taken by the besieging force under General Pritzler. Though places of that remarkable strength which has been already described, none of them made a good defence, none stood the assault, and as their previous history was scarcely known, their capture excited less interest, even among the besiegers, than it otherwise was calculated to produce. An

A. D. 1818.

exception must be made in regard to Wassota; the wild country through which the troops advanced for about 20 miles, far exceeded in sublimity and grandeur any pre conceived ideas the British officers might have formed of those vast mountains, dells, and forests, which they were told existed in the Ghaut-Mahta. The necessary artillery was transported with extraordinary labour, through thick jungles and deep valleys, where natural barriers presented themselves in every succeeding hill, at which a handful of men might have arrested a host; and when at last brought to the point of bombardment, intense interest was excited for the two officers, Cornets Hunter and Morrison, who, the reader may recollect, were taken prisoners at the commencement of the war, and were now in confinement in this fortress. The wives and families of the raja of Satara and his brothers were also in Wassota, and these princes were present in the British camp. The obstinacy of the killidar, who at first would listen to no terms of surrender, was in this instance a cause of general regret. At length the mortars opened; and though the peal of every salvo as it reverberated from the surrounding rocks carried with it an anxiety for the fate of the prisoners, the bombardment was kept up for about 20 hours, with such effect that the killidar capitulated, and fortunately none of the captives suffered. The two British officers, were found in a dress of coarse unbleached cotton, made into a form neither European nor Indian, but partaking of the nature of both; their beards had grown, and

April 5.

their appearance was, as may be imagined, extraordinary; but their health was perfectly good. They had been kept in ignorance of the advance of their countrymen, or the state of the war; the firing, in driving in the outposts, was represented by their guard as the attack of some insurgents in the neighbourhood; the bursting of the shells over their heads was the first intimation of approaching deliverance, and the most joyful sound that had reached their ears for five dreary months. They had been at first used very harshly in the fort of Kangooree; but they were removed to Wassota by Gokla's orders, and a letter, in his own hand-writing to the killidar, desiring him to treat the two poor Europeans well, was one of several instances of a like generous character, tending to prove that Gokla had no participation in the cruelties of his master, and at that moment excited some feeling of pity for his fate. On most occasions the captive officers had been humanely treated by the native soldiery, and they met with some remarkable acts of disinterested kindness and sympathy.

April 11.

Shortly after the reduction of Wassota, the raja of Satara was with great pomp seated on his throne by the commissioner, when he published two proclamations—the one announcing his connexion with the British government, the other making over entire powers for the arrangement and government of his country to the author of this work, who was the agent selected by Mr. Elphinstone for that purpose. In the first proclamation the raja dwelt on the injuries received from Bajee

Rao; amongst these was an order, the existence of which was confirmed by the killidar of Wassota, to put the whole family to death, rather than suffer them to fall into the hands of the British government. The raja Pertab Siew (or Sing) was in his 27th year, naturally intelligent and well-disposed, but bred amongst intrigues, surrounded by men of profligate character, and ignorant of everything except the etiquette and parade of a court. His whole family entertained the most extravagant ideas of their own consequence, and their expectations were proportionate; so that for a time the bounty which they experienced was not duly appreciated.

As it was inconvenient to reduce the whole of that strong country at this period, a battalion of sepoys and 500 auxiliary horse were left for the protection of the raja and the defence of the fort. After these arrangements, a part of the besieging division was detached to assist in the capture of the forts to the northward of Poona, and General Pritzler proceeded to the Carnatic to place himself under the orders of General Munro. That gallant officer with a mere handful of men had taken a number of very strong forts, amongst others Badamee, which he carried by assault. Having added to his limited means, by raising a great body of irregulars, he had already possessed himself of the country in that quarter. On being reinforced, he immediately marched to the northward against the remainder of Bajee Rao's infantry, which, in number about 4,500, with 13 guns, were levying contributions, under Gunput Rao Phansay, in the

April 13.

Nizam's districts near Beejapoor. On hearing of General Munro's approach, they retreated under the walls of the strong fort of Sholapoor, where they were followed up, attacked, routed, and pursued with great slaughter. The pettah of Sholapoor had been previously carried by escalade; and the fort, after a short siege, surrendered. As General Munro advanced from the Carnatic, he sent his irregulars to the right and left of his column of march, who occupied the villages, fought with spirit on several occasions, stormed fortified places, and took possession in name of "Thomas Munro Buhadur."

The Bombay government having conquered the Concan by its own exertions, Mr. Elphinstone did not interfere in its settlement, especially as few of the difficulties to be apprehended above the Ghauts existed in the low country. Mr. Pelly and Mr. Marriott were appointed to the change of the civil duties—the former in the southern, the latter in the northern, Concan, or to the territory south and north of river Penn. Raigurh, famous as the capital of Sivajee, and a place as impregnable as Gibraltar, surrendered to Colonel Prother on the 7th May: it contained the Peishwa's elder wife, Waranussee Bye: a fortunate shell having set fire to her habitation and destroyed it, she prevailed on the Arab killidar to capitulate. Waranussee Bye was allowed to retire to Waee near Satara, where she resided for nine or ten months, until it was discovered that her being there facilitated Bajee Rao's persevering intrigues, when, with a suitable escort, she was despatched to join her husband at Beithoor.

In regard to the settlement above the Ghauts, General Munro, as we have seen, took possession of the Carnatic, which he subsequently made over to Mr. Chaplin, an experienced civil servant of the Madras establishment, who was appointed, under Mr. Elphinstone, principal collector of the Mahratta country south of the Kistna, and political agent with the raja of Kolapoor and the southern jagheerdars.

To the management of the provinces extending from the Kistna to the Nerbuddah, Mr. Elphinstone, at different periods during the progress of the conquest, appointed four subordinate agents. The territory reserved for the raja of Satara was the tract between the Warnah and the Neera, extending from the base of the Syhadree mountains on the west to Punderpoor on the east, or nearly to the Nizam's boundary. Until reduced, and some progress made in its settlement, the Satara country was managed entirely as a British province. Captain Henry Dundas Robertson had charge of the city and district of Poona, of which he was collector of the revenue, judge, and magistrate. His district lay between the Neera and Beema. From the Beema to the Chandore hills was intrusted to Captain Henry Pottinger, with the same authority as was delegated to Captain Robertson; and Captain John Briggs, in the province of Candeish, in addition to the duties of those officers, was agent for effecting a settlement with the Bheels.

With each of those officers, whose authority nearly resembled that of the great sur-soobehdars under the Peishwa's government, experienced

natives were appointed to conduct the numerous subordinate situations, with permanent salaries, on a scale of liberality which rendered their offices, both in regard to power and emolument, exceedingly respectable.

To get possession of the country; to prevent the revenue of the current year, or the treasure of the Peishwa, from being made applicable to purposes of hostility; to protect and conciliate the inhabitants; to attempt no innovations; and to endeavour to show the people that they were to expect no change, but the better administration of their own laws, were the primary objects to which the commissioner directed the attention of his agents. As the country was drained of British troops, the greater part of which had proceeded in pursuit of the flying Peishwa, the means of those agents were at first limited; but by raising irregulars, taking such places as they could reduce, destroying or executing straggling plunderers, especially when they were found torturing or murdering the villagers, opening negotiations with the killidars of the stronger forts, and representing the hopelessness of resistance, the country, with the assistance of such regulars as could be spared, fell almost as fast as men could be collected to keep possession. It not unfrequently happened that irregulars, who had left Bajee Rao's service a few days or hours before, entered that of the British government; and instances are adducible where, having quitted the Peishwa, they were enlisted, subsisted, supplied with ammunition, and fighting for the new government within little more than 24 hours; so readily do

the irregular troops of India transfer their allegiance to the prevailing power. To these men the new conquests were frequently of necessity intrusted, and they proved in no instance treacherous or disobedient.

By the month of May a small detachment of regulars from Poona under Major Eldridge had obtained possession of the numerous hill-forts between the city and the Ahmednugur hills, some of which are as strong as any in the world. The defences are entirely composed of solid rock, in which caves are hewn that rendered the garrison safe from the effect of shells, and a very few resolute men could maintain an assault against any numbers.

Another small detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel M'Dowell was equally successful in reducing the forts in the Chandore range; and by the end of May the Arabs in Candeish, and the insurgents under the pretended Chitoor Sing in the Satara territory, were the only opponents of the British government within the dominions of the late Peishwa.

On the 13th June the Arab garrison of the strong fort of Mallygaom surrendered to Colonel M'Dowell, after a very obstinate defence, June 13. during which they repulsed an assault, and occasioned a loss to the besiegers of upwards of 200 men in killed and wounded. In the opposite quarter of the country, and on the ensuing day, the fort of Prucheetgurh and the pretended Chitoor Sing were taken by a detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Cunningham.*

* Prucheetgurh, in a most inaccessible situation, was taken by an enterprize successful from its apparent impracticability.

These events, except a few detached expeditions in the ensuing season, and the siege of Aseergurh already mentioned, put an end to military operations in the Mahratta territory.

The progress of the settlement went forward as rapidly as the conquest. After the first instructions were in train, the next object was to obtain full information respecting individuals, that their claims to consideration might be fully understood. Inquiries were also circulated by the commissioner to his agents, and by them to their subordinate agents, on the usages and laws of the country, in which all the intelligent part of the community were called upon for their opinions. A mass of valuable information was thus speedily collected, and from the judicious nature of the queries, so far from alarming the inhabitants—an inconvenience to which such interrogatories are particularly liable in India—these, on the contrary, being committed

A. D. 1819.

The fort was commanded by an adjoining hill, from which a brisk fire soon drove the besieged from the gate, to seek shelter behind some stone houses in the fort; upon which Captain Spiller suggested the possibility of blowing a hole in the gate with musketry. This strange breach was effected under a heavy fire from his companions, which prevented the besieged from suspecting what was going forward at the gate. Captain Spiller went in first, but a grenadier sepoy, who attempted to follow, could not get through owing to his cartridge-box; Captain Spiller was therefore obliged to return until he had made the entrance sufficiently large, by which time he was joined by Colonel Cunningham and Assistant Surgeon Radford, when they got in, one by one, concealing themselves in the gateway until their party had entered. They then rushed upon the garrison, completely surprised them, and carried the place without the loss of a man.

to men who knew the natives, tended to gain their confidence, and were in this respect useful to the new government. To keep down insurrection, to settle claims and rewards consequent upon such a revolution, to make some provision for all who suffered, and to better the condition of those whom the voice of the community pointed out as fit objects of bounty, were a part of the duties which devolved upon the commissioner.

In regard to insurrection, vigilance was enjoined and strictly maintained by a system of private intelligence, which the Mahrattas consider necessary to good government, and which the state of the country, as well as the usage of the people, rendered necessary; armed men travelling without passports were required to deposit their weapons, and the hoarded resources of the late government were seized wherever found; but as it was not intended to disarm the Mahrattas, still less to create a vexatious search, which might in the slightest degree interfere with private property, or even to exact from inoffensive individuals all that they were known to possess belonging to Bajee Rao, great relaxation in these respects soon took place. After the first year, no passport was required from any body of armed men not exceeding 25, and no search for treasure was authorized without previously obtaining satisfactory testimony in regard to the information concerning it. A strong military force occupied positions at Belgaom, Kuladgee, Kurar, Satara, Sholapoor, Poona, Seroor, Joonere, Ahmednugur, and Mallygaom, and numbers of the enemy's

irregular infantry were employed in the British service. The ranks of the auxiliary horse were already filled by men enlisted beyond the borders of the Mahratta country; but more than half the horses which returned from Bajee Rao's army died in the course of six months from the fatigue they had undergone.

The Bheels in the mountains adjoining Candeish continued to disturb the country for some time after the new government was established. The plan adopted for settling them was to appropriate waste lands for such as chose to cultivate them, and to grant to every chief an allowance for a certain number of men, for which they became bound to restrain the excesses of the rest. To force them to accept of these terms, their supplies, which were drawn from the plains, were stopped, parties issuing out to plunder were cut off, and vigorous attacks were made on the points in the hills occupied by the refractory chiefs. These measures at length reduced them to submission, but it must be the work of many years to reform their habits.

There were few attempts at insurrection; one conspiracy was detected, which had for its object the release of the pretended Chitoor Sing, the murdur of all the Europeans at Poona and Satara, the surprise of some of the principal forts, and the possession of the person of the raja of Satara. The persons concerned were men of desperate fortunes among the unemployed soldiery: many of them were apprehended and tried; and the ringleaders, some of whom were Bramins, were blown from

guns—an example which, though severe, had a great effect in restraining that intriguing race, and preventing similar attempts in the country.

As to claims, the most important upon the British government were those which regarded the settlement with its ally, the Nizam; but no arrangement of their mutual affairs could be made, until it had been fully ascertained what surplus revenue the British government should derive from the conquest. The advantages immediately gained by the Nizam were exemption from debts amounting to about 60 millions of rupees; and which, on the most moderate estimate, he could not have settled with the Peishwa without making a cession of territory equal to 10 lakhs of rupees a year. The shares of revenue within the boundary of the soobehdar of the Deccan, which the Peishwa or his subjects had enjoyed up to the breaking out of the war, and of which the Nizam now retained the collections, were more than equal to 12 lakhs of rupees a year, and the cessions which fell to him from the governments of Holkar and the raja of Nagpoor amounted to nearly six more; so that the Nizam obtained an addition of at least 28 lakhs of rupees of annual revenue.

Though the British government gained much by additional strength and security, it was doubtful how far its income was benefited by the conquest. The provision for the raja of Satara was completed by a treaty dated 25th September 1819, by which he agreed to hold his territory in subordinate co-operation to the British government; neither to increase nor diminish his military

force without its sanction; and, as a fundamental condition, he was positively prohibited from holding any intercourse with persons not his own subjects, except through the resident at his court. The company charged itself with the defence of his territory, which for a time was to be governed under an agent of that government, until the raja and his people were made acquainted with business.*

Next to the provision for the raja of Satara was a reward to the raja of Kolapoor, who, on the first declaration of hostilities, espoused the British cause. The much-desired districts of Chickooree and Menowlee, with the history of which the reader is already acquainted, were therefore restored to him—a recompense equal to his highest expectation.

The next claims were those of the jagheer-dars; but it may be first proper to mention that every species of hereditary right not jagheer, all other rent-free lands, all established pensions,

* The plan followed in the raja's country was simply to amend the native system, and to place the routine of business in that train, which it was possible might be preserved after the interference of the British government was withdrawn. The raja himself was taught to expect power according to his ability to exercise it, and in a short time laboured as assiduously as any carcoon under his government. The entire powers of the state were formally delivered over to him on the 5th April 1822, at which period the boon thus conferred by the British nation on the decendant of Sivajee was certainly appreciated by the country generally, as well as by his relations and himself; but time must prove whether this liberal experiment on the part of the authorities of the East India Company will be attended with any lasting good effect to the governors or the governed.

charitable and religious assignments and endowments, were restored; and that every promise held out by the proclamation, of Satara was fulfilled without reserve or modification, excepting with respect to the Dukshina, which will be subsequently explained. In regard to jagheers, there were various points for consideration. In the first instance, unless specially exempted, every jagheer was taken possession of, like the territory in the immediate occupation of the Peishwa's agents,— and all jagheers falling within the Nizam's boundary were declared to be irrecoverably lost to their late owners. Jagheers also, which had been sequestrated by the former government, were not restored. Certain jagheerdars, whom we shall designate of the first class, were the old Mankurees, or native chiefs of the country, whom the reader has it in his power to trace from the earliest history of Maharashtra, such as the Nimbalkurs of Phultun, the Duflays of Jhutt, the Ghorepurays of Moodhole, &c., &c. Others, in the second class, were the old aristocracy of Sivajee and his descendants, such as the Purdhans, the Pritee Needhee, Angria, and the raja of Akulkote. A third class was that which was raised by the Peishwas, some of whom had established claims by their early submission, or former services to the British government; but even of those dependants of the Peishwa, who had adhered to him to the last, it was, as remarked, "politic and humane to allow them a liberal maintenance, but it was neither required by humanity nor policy to give such persons the

command of troops, paid from the revenue which had fallen into the hands of their conquerors."*

The various claims of each of these classes being considered, the first, or old hereditary jagheerdars, had the whole of their lands restored. Of the second class, the Punt Suchew was the only one of the Purdhans to whom the Peishwa had left a vestige of power: he was one of the first who joined the British cause after the proclamation of Satara, and his territory, valued at three lakhs of rupees of annual revenue, and which includes the spot where Sivajee first established himself, was immediately placed in his own hands. The Pritee Needhee took the first opportunity of escaping from the Peishwa's camp, and the lands held in his name, which were assigned for his maintenance, but never committed to his own management, were given up. The raja of Akulkote was one of those jagheerdars who, from the first, would have resisted Bajee Rao's authority, had he not been overawed by the subsidiary force; he joined in the war with reluctance, quitted the Peishwa early, and his jagheer was immeditely relinquished. Of the third class of the jagheerdars, the Putwurdhuns were the most conspicuous; Gunput Rao Putwurdhun of Tasgaom, one of the surviving sons of Pureshram Bhow, never joined the Peishwa, and took an early opportunity, before the Satara proclamation, of assuring Mr. Elphinstone of his determination not to do so; his lands were confirmed to him. The other members

* Elphinstone's despatches.

of this powerful family left Bajee Rao about the end of February: a like favourable consideration was shown to them. Appa Dessaye Nepankur did not join to Peishwa till late; he never acted with vigour against the British troops, and on one occasion behaved remarkably well to some prisoners. He, as well as the Putwurdhuns and Rastia maintained a communication with Mr. Elphinstone throughout the war; but as he did not quit the Peishwa's standard until a late period, he lost a part of his jagheer by the restoration of Chickooree and Menowlee to Kolapoor, and he likewise lost considerably by revenues within the territory of the Nizam; but for these last he was at a subsequent period partly compensated, and the rest of his jagheer was restored. Mahdoo Rao Rastia had less reason than any other jagheerdar for those ideas of honor which induced many of them to adhere to the falling fortunes of him whom they considered the chief of the Hindoos. He quitted Bajee Rao after the affair of Sewnee, and thus lost the claim of fidelity to the Peishwa, or of gratitude to the British government. All jagheers granted under the Mahratta governments are for personal support, or the maintenance of troops; and each chief has a certain portion of his jagheer allotted for the former purpose. To such persons as had forfeited all claim, like Rastia, and even to those who rather feared persecution than expected favour, their personal estates were in every instance restored. The Pritee Needhee, the Punt Suchew, the raja of Akulkote, the Duflays, and the Nimbalkurs were, at their own request, placed under the raja's government, and

their lands guaranteed to them. To all the great jagheerdars the same powers were permitted within their own territory as had always existed; and even towards those chiefs who had lost their lands, great delicacy, and as little interference as possible, were enjoined. The equitable and enlightened law which levels all distinctions would have been intolerable to men's minds in the existing state of the Mahratta country, and would have been as little relished by the lower as by the higher classes of society.

The punchayet was the ordinary tribunal for the decision of civil suits, and it is that which gives, and, if judiciously administered, probably always will give, more satisfaction, and be, in their own opinion, of greater benefit, to the natives of Maharashtra than any other mode of trial. The English officers of government, who had been accustomed to the courts of Udalut, could not reconcile themselves to the corruption, delay, and apparent injustice of some of their decisions; but, in commenting on the evils of the Mahratta system, it is to be feared they forgot the many defects of their own. Although punchayets are continued under the provisional government which is still maintained in the conquered territory, it is to be apprehended they can neither exist, nor have a fair trial, where, whilst some are prejudiced, others, overwhelmed by business of various kinds, are discouraged by the difficulties they find in the system; and a few (though I do believe such selfishness in the present state of feeling to be rare), considering it at variance with the interest

of the civil service, only strive to discover objections, which in some shape may be found to every form of administration, but which time and vigilance would, in this instance, in a great measure remove. On the temper, zeal, and perseverance of the government officers, much must depend: punchayets, where neglected or merely tolerated, cannot prosper; they require a pure and steady superintendence, with all the weight of authority to correct and amend the faults of the people which are confounded with the defects of the system. A very active able agency would at first be necessary after a plan of reform had been digested; but once instituted, carefully watched and encouraged at the outset, and carried on for a time, much less interference would become requisite on the part of government; and not only would the natives be called upon to administer justice in the form most popular among them, but, leaving advantages to policy out of the question, the punchayet might be made a powerful instrument for improving the minds and amending the morals of the natives of India. At present, even in the Mahratta country, those who have a suit will frequently solicit the decision of an English judge; but the same persons, if intelligent men, when exempt from the impulse which influences their opinions under such circumstances, will invariably declare that the punchayet, in civil cases, is far better suited to the country at large than any mode of decision by individuals.

The criminal law in the conquered territory was administered, as it usually had been, by the

decision of individual judges, assisted by Hindoo authority in regulating the measure of punishment; but the evidence and sentences, in all important cases, were subject to the approval of the commissioner before being carried into execution. Punchayets in criminal cases had been known in the Satara country constituted of the servants of government. The same mode was revived in that territory, but punchayets in criminal cases might be chosen from the body of the people, although the advantages of a trial by jury would not be at first appreciated, and would require to be introduced by persons thoroughly acquainted with the natives.

The revenue system, of settling with the people through the agents of government, instead of renting the districts, was the means of abolishing many grievances; but in the Peishwa's country, especially in the villages, where a portion of the inhabitants were composed of the soldiery, there was not so much oppression as might have been expected.

The mode of settlement for the jagheerdars has led to a brief notice of the revenue and judicial system, and, in regard to the latter, has called forth reflections which have been seldom intruded on the reader in the plain narrative now about to be concluded.

Mr. Elphinstone took charge of the government of Bombay on the 1st November 1819, and Mr. Chaplain succeeded him as commissioner for the conquered territory; but liberal pensions in land or money were previously granted to those

adherents of the British government whose services during the revolution had merited such rewards. The ministers of the late government wholly unprovided for, and those of the times of Nana Furnuwees, who were pining in want had also pecuniary assignments for their maintenance during life. Chiefs, not jagheerdars, who were reduced to absolute indigence, had also a provision according to circumstances.

The Dukshina, as the reader may remember, was a charitable institution, originally established by Dhabaray Senaputtee, and perpetuated by the first Bajee Rao and his successors. The great Mahdoo Rao confined the donations principally to poor Bramins whose proficiency in science and mythology entitled them to distinction; and the rewards were conferred in proportion to their acquirements, moral conduct, and sanctity. During the reign of the second Bajee Rao, though a portion was always reserved as the reward of learning, it degenerated into an indiscriminate distribution, dictated by the superstitious idea of feeding and bestowing on Bramins as an atonement for sin. Many poor Bramins, however, had become greatly dependent on this charity, and therefore to have stopped it at once would have been inconsistent with the human munificence which pervaded every act of the British government in the conquered territory; but to have continued that promiscuous alms to all Bramins, who chose to collect at Poona for the purpose, would have been a wasteful, and in many respects a useless and pernicious, expenditure. It was

at first therefore bestowed under certain limitations; the portion assigned to men of learning was duly distributed; and that the benefit to the country might be rendered more essentially important, as the donations at the Dukshina were circumscribed, a Hindoo college was instituted at Poona, where the minds of the youth might acquire such instruction in their own way as they are disposed to receive in mathematics, astronomy, medicine, &c.; and pains were taken to erase from their elementary books of ethics such principles of morality as have a dangerous or a doubtful tendency. Though the institution of the college, which was committed to Mr. Chaplain, was at first regarded with some signs of distrust, before the end of 1822 there were 143 Bramins, students or candidates for admission, even before fit teachers for all the branches had been found.

The saving to the British government from the revenues of the Peishwa's territory, afer all these arrangements were completed, became very inconsiderable; but by lapses of lives of the pensioners, effectual protection to the country, fortunate seasons, and progressive improvement of agriculture, the revenue in three years increased upwards of 17 lakhs of rupees.

Thus was completed, under the direction of the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone, this important change in the government of the Mahratta country; the liberality of the settlement authorised by the Marquis of Hastings far exceeded the expectations of the people, and more was in

consequence done for the tranquillity of the Deccan in 18 months than had ever followed a revolution in that disturbed country after a period of many years. The name of Elphinstone was deservedly associated with the acts of the British government; and the memory of benefits conferred by him on the inhabitants of Maharashtra will probably survive future revolutions, and will do much in the meantime to preserve the existence of British India.*

* Authorities as in the preceding.

THE END.

INDEX.

The following Index is also frequently a Glossary. In regard to such words as may not be translated, the reader will always find their explanation in the text or note of the page in which the word is first mentioned.

*** *The Roman numerals refer to the Volume, and the Arabic figures to the Page.*

E.

H.

K.